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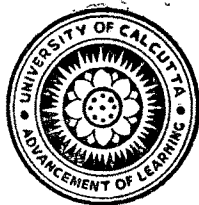
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CONTENTS

	Pages
Shakespearean Puzzle—Endeavours After its Solution— Sir P. C. Roy	145
A Study of Some of the Factors Related to Reading Retardation for Remedial Purposes—Srinibas Bhattacharya	163
Recent Steinback studies in the United States—Tetsumaro Hayashi	169
The End of Social Conflicts—M. C. Ghose	173
On the letter Ks or X—Harendrachandra Paul	187
A Twelve-month and a day—Samuel S. Bickford, Jr	193
'Benevolent Crusade' to Suppress Infanticides in India ; An obser- vation—Kanti Pakrashi	195
Reform of World Monetary System—Sarathi Nath Seth	207
The Moon and English Poetry—Bhupendranath Seal	213
Dickens's Development as Artist—R. K. Gupta	219
The Rent Question in Bengal and Sir George Campbell (1871-74) —Kalyan Kumar Sen Gupta	227
Objective Correlative and the Theory of Rasa—K. L. Suhal	237
Sixty-four Thousand students, Ten percent of them foreigners ; Higher Education in Belgium. Edited by the Belgium Institute of Infor- mation and Documentation.	241
Demo-Despotocracy and Freedom—Benoykumar Sarkar	247
Landslide and their Allied problems—Kumar Banerjee	267
Kingship in Ancient India—S. R. Saha	271
The Governor : His position in the Constitutional system —Mira Ganguli & Bangendu Ganguli	279
Book reviews	287
Our Contributors	295

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

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SHAKESPEAREAN PUZZLE—ENDEAVOURS AFTER ITS SOLUTION

SIR P. C. RAY, Kt.

IX

IMPERSONALITY OF SHAKESPEARE (*continued*)

In the previous article the present writer proposed to read through a few important plays of Shakespeare with a view to seeing how far the suggestion that Shakespeare's personality is truly manifest in his writings appears to be tenable. One has not to go through all the pieces Shakespeare could produce but may profitably pick out a few, say four or five, of his three dozen and one dramas. Let us begin with *Hamlet* which, during the past three centuries and odd, has supplied hundreds of critics sufficient materials to excogitate a number theories.

Stationer's register enters the play under date July 26, 1602 and it must have been composed between 1598 and 1602. The actual date is controversial but is important so far as the present topic is concerned, as will presently appear.

Let us consider, then, in some detail the probable date of the play. Gabriel Harvey referred to the play in his marginal notes in a copy of Speght's *Chaucer* published in 1598. The actual date on which the entry might have been made has been the subject of much criticism and scholars have interpreted the language of this entry in more than one way. Their conclusions, no doubt, have been vitiated by too many assumptions, *too many perhapses, might have beens and in all probabilities*, but in all fairness any intelligent reader will have to skim out a passable theory from the huge mass of facts that have accumulated.

The present writer would like to refer in this connection to the theory proposed by Prof. F. S. Boas in his *Shakespeare and the Universities*. The concluding lines are quoted here, "The more closely Harvey's references are examined the weightier is the cumulative evidence that it was in or about 1598 that he spoke of Hamlet and Lucrece as having it in them 'to please the wiser sort.' " So, the date of Hamlet cannot but be 1598 or a bit earlier.

It has been claimed that *Hamlet* abounds in personal and topical touches of Shakespeare, who usually took scrupulous care not to give vent to his personal feelings. This play has been claimed to be the masterpiece of our poet and has been called the 'national drama' of England. This was extremely popular with the theatre-going public and was—~~may is~~—regarded even to-day as the best closet-play, notwithstanding the fact that in the general tone the play is the "most contemplative" of Shakespeare's plays. *Hamlet* does not manifest the broad optimism which we could expect from the writer of *King John* and it lacks in the passion of *Romeo*, still the general mass of readers have expressed their highest appreciation of the piece.

Malone had tried to explain the reasons of Shakespeare's assumed gloominess in the piece, and the succeeding critics have generally echoed him. It has been claimed that the man Shakespeare's domestic affairs checked the pen of Shakespeare the playwright and metamorphosed the frolicking comedian into a gloomy tragedian. A number of family and private circumstances have been put forward to serve as the background of Shakespeare's mental state when he engaged himself to depict a colourful history of the Prince of Denmark. Let us see what were the events that influenced the dramatist so far, so that the whole tone of his acknowledged masterpiece had been one of decided gloominess.

The chain of events extends from the year 1596 and is dragged up to 1601. In 1596 Shakespeare's only son Hamnet, a boy of about 12 years, expired. John Shakespeare died in 1601 and in the same year Robert Deverraux, Earl of Essex, was sentenced to capital punishment on a charge of high treason. Henry Wriothesly, Earl of Southampton, Shakespeare's patron and friend, was imprisoned for abetting Essex and, all these taken together, surely depressed the dramatist and apparently sharpened his pensive pen. According to Herford these events in Shakespeare's personal life have lent fervour to Hamlet's outbursts of grief and of friendship.

The question of the date of its composition comes up here. If we accept Boas's view, which the present writer finds no reason to discard, the question of the death of the poet's father and the misfortunes of his patrons do not come up for consideration at all. The ingenious theory put forward by personality-mongers, consequently, falls through. In order to scrutinize the theory we are accepting the date of the composition of *Hamlet* sometime between 1598 and 1601.

We have now to decide, therefore, what effect the death of Hamlet might have made upon our poet's mind. The death of his only son certainly affected him too much and it sounds quite fitting if his pathos had found some expression in his writings. But circumstantial evidence clearly proves that he was not too much moved. Certainly any affectionate father would groan at this sudden and unbearable stroke of providence, but an ambitious seeker of fortune barely 32 years of age should not take 6 long years to recover. That Shakespeare did not actually take such a long time to recover is amply evident from actual facts.

In 1596, an application was made by John Shakespeare for a coat of arms; certainly our poet had full knowledge of the fact and in all likelihood he had to finance the scheme of raising the family to the status of gentry. How is this fact compatible with the theory that broken-hearted Shakespeare took up his pen to perpetuate his feeling of grief and sorrow, simultaneously aspiring to make his worldly position secure? It has been observed in a previous issue¹ that the year 1598 is a landmark in Shakespearian history. How can we say that a poet in his gloomy state of mind extending for a number of years had been striving with all sincerity to make himself prosperous and known and was taking all interest in a new playhouse of which he became a founder-partner.² Shakespeare's name first began to appear in the published plays from the year 1598 and there are unquestionable records to prove that Shakespeare himself appeared on the board occasionally if not regularly up to the year 1603.³ The sign of his worldly prosperity, namely, the purchase of the New Place, the best house in the town of Stratford, was made in the year 1599. All the facts taken together are sufficiently convincing to do away with the theory of gloom enunciated by the indefatigable Malone and developed by the psychologist Dowden who has attempted to trace the growth of the mind of Shakespeare with reference to his art. True it is that Southampton was his friend and patron and ill-fated Essex was a friend to Southampton. Shakespeare was much interested in Essex whom he refers to directly in his drama *Henry V*. There is no doubt that the turn of events resulting in the capital punishment of Essex and imprisonment of Southampton coupled with the death of his aged father depressed him much. Despair and dejection might have tintured his youthful mind, but how can we assume that this agony and grief of the poet's

¹ *Calcutta Review*, January, 1940.

² 'The Theatre' of Burbadges was demolished and the Globe was erected by several of the party in 1599. Shakespeare was one of the co-sharers.

³ Ben Jonson's *Sejanus* was played in 1603, and Shakespeare took part in the performance. *Every Man in his Humour* was played in 1598. Shakespeare, as Ben Jonson records in his Folio edition, was one among the players.

outward world found expression in his creation too ? Thorndike refuses to believe it and adduces the following reason for his doing so :

"Shakespeare must have lived and enjoyed and suffered intensely ; but this does not commit us to a belief in an immediate turning to account of personal experience in the writing of drama. His boy, Hamnet, died in 1596, about the time that he was writing *The Merchant of Venice* and the rollicking farce of *The Taming of the Shrew*, and just before he conceived Falstaff ; it was fourteen years later that he gave us the pathetic figure of the young Mamillius in *The Winter's Tale*. From all we know of his personal life, the years of *King Lear* and *Othello* were years of abounding prosperity."

The present writer is slow to accept the theory of gloom and confidently believes that *Hamlet* has been the history of Shakespeare's brooding hours snatched out from the world of sorrow and mirth. If there is any melancholy tone in *Hamlet*, it is surely not due to his outward grief, be that so severe as the death of the only son, but simply due to the fact that at spare moments Shakespeare's heart caught the contagion of the world's miseries perceptible here, there, and everywhere. The hidden philosopher in the comedian like to dilate upon them and to soliloquise on every suitable occasion. Prince Hamlet is this philosopher, rapid in theorising, slow in action ; desperate in promising and deliberate in withholding. This is never the Shakespeare of the Globe and hailing from Stratford—this is the Shakespeare retiring after the day's toil and reposing on the armchair with the most penetrating question :

"To be or not to be, that is the question :
Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer
The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune,
Or to take arms against a sea of troubles
And by opposing end them ?"

The brooding philosopher is now free to soliloquise and goes on meditating :

".....there's the respect
That makes calamity of so long life,
For who would bear the whips and scorns of time,
The oppressor's wrong, the proud man's contumely,
The pangs of despised love, the law's delay,
The insolence of office and the spurns
That patient merit of the unworthy takes,
When he himself might his quietus make
With a bare bodkin ?"

—and calls his audience to "see what I see".

The fine coincidence between the names of Hamnet and Hamlet has, indeed, served as a weapon in the hands of the personality-hunters among the critics. In considering this coincidence we must not forget that Hamnet Shakespeare was born in the year 1585 when William Shakespeare was walking up and down the streets of Stratford and did not dream of writing the history of the Danish prince for the enjoyment of the English people.

Is there no sign of Shakespeare's personality in *Hamlet* then? Certainly there are a few and that unmistakably. Hamlet's enquiry about the players of the city has been answered not by Rosencrantz but by the poet himself and we can surely take it as Shakespeare's connection with the war of the theatres,¹ of which no other positive record remains.

Shakespeare's advice to the clown is significantly personal. As an author he had to see that all the parts do get due development in the hands of those who represent the individual parts but that was not to be and in much despair and disgust the poet uttered his caution for the players :

"Let those that play your clowns speak no more than is set down for them : For there be of them that will themselves laugh to set on some quantity of barren spectators to laugh too."

We must not forget that the general performance was a 'two hours traffic' and the groundlings more encouraged by clown by *en cours* at the cost of the serious parts of the play. The author cannot support the groundlings and takes an opportunity to advise the actors in the art of representation.

Critics are unanimous in regarding *The Tempest* as one of Shakespeare's latest plays, if it be not the last. It is accepted to have been written sometime in 1611 and Shakespeare personally did not write any other book after that date. The poet had, by this time, accumulated sufficient wealth and intended to return to his native place. The din and bustle of the growing city could not attract him any more and when he could know for certain that he was no longer a poor man, the son of an obscure bailiff threatened with imprisonment for debts, he did not like to put up in London. He wanted to go to his native place where he could pass the remaining years of his life comfortably and with ease.

Before going back to Stratford, his native place, Shakespeare produced *The Tempest* and it would be quite fitting to the occasion if Shakespeare would inform his numerous admirers the intention of his doing so. In Elizabethan society the custom of according farewell parties did not exist as it exists to-day and consequently there was very little chance for the poet to address his friends and admirers except

¹ The dialogue has already been quoted on a previous occasion. See *Calcutta Review*, April, 1940, p. 3.

from the board, the words of parting coming out of the lips of others. In all fairness then the speech of Prospero¹ beginning with "Ye elves of hills," etc., and ending in :

But this rough magic
I here abjure ; and when I have required
Some heavenly music, which even now I do,
To work mine end upon their senses that
This airy charm is for, I will break my staff,
Bury it certain fathoms in the earth,
And, deeper than did ever plummet sound
I'll drown my book.

—would represent the retiring poet's personal feeling. Brandes says :

"....Prospero is not Shakespeare, but the play is in a certain measure autobiographical....It shows us more than anything else what the discipline of life had made of Shakespeare at fifty—a fruit too fully matured to be suffered to hang much longer on the tree."

But the situation does not warrant the assumption. There is absolutely no record to show that the speech moved any of the audience and what reason could we find that the dramatist would make a parting speech of self-adulation while his audience would remain silent? Moreover the situation of the play demands some such speech from the Duke of magicians who regains his lost dukedom at Milan, his only daughter finding a happy and desirable match. Prospero's retirement from the world of magic is as inevitable as was his entrance. We may compare this with the entrance and exit of Shakespeare into and from the dramatic world but we can by no means assume this to be entirely personal. In the Epilogue Prospero declares—

"Now my charms are all o'erthrown,
And what strength I have's my own ;
Which is not faint : now 'tis true,
I must be here confined by you,
Or sent to Naples. Let me not,
Since I have my dukedom got
And pardon'd the deceiver, dwell
In this bare Island by your spell ;
But release me from my bands
With the help of your good hands."

If we are to take it as personal we have to assume that Shakespeare considered himself out-of-date and out-of-interest. His powers,

¹ Act V. Sc. I.

according to himself, were failing him ; but is there any reason to believe like that ? The present writer thinks—no, there's no reason to believe that. Let us quote here a line from Dr. Schelling who, along with others, shares the same view—namely, Shakespeare's picture of Prospero is least personal and most artistic.

“To those who recognise the larger nature of drama, who can grasp the idea of an art higher than that of an egoist, in the power of true dramatic poet to thrill with a responsive sympathy for the emotion of any one of his personages, however differently situated in life and feeling from himself there is no need to interpret Prospero (nor any other of the characters that crowd his pages) as a projection of Shakespeare himself into his creative work.”¹

There is no good in multiplying instances like this. Before concluding this article the present writer should draw the attention of his readers to a particular trait of Shakespeare's pen, *viz.*, the non-committal way of putting things which will serve as fit subjects for volumes of harangues. A single instance may suffice. In 2 *Henry IV*, we have, when the rebels meet the King's party, *viz.*, Prince John Lancaster, Earl of Westmoreland, in the forest we find Lord Mowbray promising ‘to try fortunes to the last man.’ But the deceitful and crafty Bolinbroke brings the rebellion to an end. Let us quote a few incidental lines.

Prince John promises to redress the grievances of the rebel Lords and gives his word of honour :

“My lord, these griefs shall be with speed redressed
Upon my soul, they shall. If this may please you,
Discharge your powers unto their several counties,
As we will ours : And here between the armies
Let's drink together friendly and embrace,
That all their eyes may bear those tokens home
Of our restored love and amity.”

The assurance was taken on its face value and Lord Hastings ordered to disperse their army. In a few minutes Hastings returned with the news :

“My Lord, our army is dispersed already :
Like youthful steers unyoked, they take their courses
East, West, North, South ; or like a school broke up,
Each hurries toward his home and sporting place.”

¹ *English Literature during the Lifetime of Shakespeare* p. 413.

Westmoreland replies :

“Good tidings, My Lord Hastings ; for the which
I do arrest thee, traitor, or high treason :
And you, Lord Archbishop, and you Lord Mowbray,
Of capital treason I attach you both.”

Mowbray enquires and gets the following answer :

“Mowbary. Is this proceeding just and honourable ?
West. Is your assembly so ?”

What is to be particularly noticed here is that Shakespeare says not a single word though there is ample opportunity to speak much. The characters speak themselves and just as much as the situation demands.

A poet of so reserved a temperament cannot be expected to give a life history of his and the assertion that the missing biography of Shakespeare can be got up from his dramas cannot thus be regarded as tenable.

In conclusion the present writer would draw the attention of his readers to the following noted lines of Carlyle in support of the theory that the greatest poet of human passion was apt to conceal his own in his writings, and succeeded in bewildering the critics of all times and all nations in catching hold of *Shakespeare the Man* :

“I cannot call this Shakespeare a ‘Sceptic,’ as some do ; his indifference to the creeds and theological quarrels of his time misleading them. No : neither unpatriotic though he says little about his Patriotism ; nor sceptic, though he says little about his Faith. Such ‘indifference’ was the fruit of his greatness withal : his whole heart was in his own grand sphere of worship (we may call it such) ; these other controversies, vitally important to other men, were not vital to him.”

In his article ‘Elizabethan Shakespeare,’ J. D. Wilson echoes the same view, namely, that “Shakespeare conceals nothing and condemns nothing.” How can we, then, mark out this sentence, that line, and those passages as his sincere attitude towards a particular event ? Is he not an impartial recorder of facts and a faithful delineator of the human mind for all times to come ? The present writer would like to answer, yes he is, and there remains the least doubt for that. He is strictly impersonal in his dramatic works and whatever he speaks through the characters of his creation are but words which would be quite natural and fitting to the occasion. The poet is absent in the assemblage of his characters who speak, act and dance according as they wish. To quote Prof. Minto, “For all his presumable moodiness Shakespeare would seem to have never composed but in one mood—

the mood of dramatic impartiality. Nobody has been able to detect in his character any strong bias of opinions held dogmatically by himself.

... One of his characters explains away prophecy, another rationalises presentiments, a third declares that miracles are ceased and that we can admit only natural means : Yet ghosts walk in his dramas, men are haunted by evil forebodings and calamities are heralded by monstrous portents. It is vain to look for consistent opinions where the dramatist's principle is to embody men of all shades with strict impartiality in their exact form and pressure.¹

X

LEARNING OF SHAKESPEARE

The learning of Shakespeare has formed the subject of an animated controversy. Ever since Ben Jonson penned his famous lines about 'Mr. Shakespear' that he had 'little Latine and Lesse Greek' all subsequent critics accepted it at its face-value forgetting, however, that Jonson with his vast and encyclopaedic learning in the classics could as well speak of the Stratford poet in a patronising and condescending mood. In fact for the first sixty or seventy years after his death all references to Shakespeare's learning were couched very disparagingly of his attainments in classical tongues.

A few selected references that speak, either directly or indirectly, of Shakespeare's learning may perhaps be found interesting. Let us begin with Ben Jonson who though not himself a university man had been decorated with the 'M.A.' degree (*honoris causa*) by both the universities,² in recognition of his erudite scholarship in the classics. Ben addresses Shakespeare in the following terms :

".....to honour thee, I would not seek
For names ; but call forth thund'ring Aeschulus,
Euripides, and Sophocles, to us, Pacuvius, Aecius, him of Cordona dead,
To life again, to heat thy buskin tread
And shake the stage ; Or, when thy socks were on,
Leave thee above ; for the comparison
Of all that insolent Greece, or haughty Rome,
Sent forth, or since did from their ashes come."

¹ *Characteristics of English Poets*, p. 273.

² Aubrey states that Jonson admitted himself in the University of Oxford but left it without taking a degree. There is no corroborative evidence of this.

And it is only to justify this, Ben puts down the clause "though thou hadst small Latin and less Greek."

Dryden, in his *Essay on Dramatic Poesy*, tries to corroborate the popular notion about Shakespeare's learning and apologetically observes. "He wanted not the spectacles of books to read nature." The critic significantly imagines Shakespeare to utter the following lines :

"Untaught, unpractised in a barbarous age
I found not, but created first the stage :
And if I drain'd no Greek or Latin Store,
'Twas, that my own abundance gave me more :
On foreign trade I needed not rely,
Like fruitful Britain rich without supply."

Nicholas Rowe (1674-1718), the earliest biographer of our poet, says :

"In such an age immortal Shakespeare wrote,
By no quaint rules not hamp'ring critics taught ;
With rough majestic force he mov'd the heart
And strength and nature made amends for art."

Mallet (1698-1765) holds Shakespeare :

"Great above rule, and imitating none ;
Rich without borrowing, Nature was his own."

Seward's encomium for Stratford contains the following lines :

"Thy bard was thine unschool'd, and from thee brought
More than all Egypt, Greece or Asia taught ;
Not Homer's self such matchless laurels won ;
The Greek has rivals, but thy Shakespeare none."

The following lines of Lloyd will perhaps clearly prove the popular view as to Shakespeare's attainments in classics :

"Oh where's the bard, who at one view
Could look the whole creation through,
Who traverses all the human heart,
Without recourse to Grecian art ?"

Leonard Digges (1588-1635), a contemporary of Shakespeare, declares :

"Next Nature only helpt him, for looke thorow
This whole Booke, thou shalt find he doth not borrow,
One phrase from Greekes, nor Latines imitate,
Nor once from vulgar Languages Translate."

John Ward, the vicar of Stratford, leaves the following entry in his diary :

"I have heart yt Mr. Shakespeare was natural wit, without any art at all."

There is no good multiplying quotations and instances. All these references will clearly show what Shakespeare's contemporaries, critics or casual inquirers hold about his knowledge of the ancients. Aubrey, however, tried to assert as early as 1681 that "Though as Ben : Johnson sayes of him, that he had little Latine and lesse Greeke. He understood Latine pretty well : for he had been in his younger yeares a school-master in the country." Aubrey cannot be supported from contemporary records but at the same time we must not fail to remark that he cannot even be disproved summarily. But, generally, it was taken for granted, in the early days of Shakespearean criticism, that the poet was not very well up in the classics.

With the advent of Romantic criticism the problem of ascertaining definitely how far Shakespeare knew of Latin and Greek came to the forefront and the controversy took a definite shape. In fact in the seventies and eighties of the eighteenth century there had already sprang up two divergent schools of critics with notions diametrically opposed to one another. The views of these two schools can best be understood from the sentiments expressed by their exponents. Gildon, an editor of Shakespeare's poems, had expressed his opinions in the following words :

"The man who doubts of the learning of Shakespeare hath none of his own."

His elder brother, John Dennis, emphatically denied this in patriotic vehemence and maintained :

"He who allows Shakespeare had learning, and a learning with the ancients, ought to be looked upon as a detractor from the glory of Great Britain."

The ever-memorable Hales of Eton, who had been a vastly read student of the ancients and Shakespeare as well, assertively undertook to demonstrate with relevant quotations from the latter that every topic dealt with by the 'poets of antiquity' has been somewhat—but never unworthily—spoken of by Shakespeare. This assertion of a noted classical scholar, if accepted, will tend the readers to believe that Shakespeare might have been very familiar with the classics or else his was an exceptional originality. Like all other inquiries connected with our poet this problem too remains unsolved and comes down to the present generation for discussion.

That Shakespeare was a vastly learned man, there is no doubt about that. His writings, both dramatic and non-dramatic, will lead anybody to admit that this 'upstart crow,' however, had no university education like Marlowe, Greene, Peele, Nashe, Lodge, and many

others of his contemporaries. There is nothing extant which we may accept as proof positive to show that he had even the rudimentary education from the existing Free Grammar School, excepting the probability that the son of a civic head might have taken full advantage of the institution in the town and within the limits of the corporation of Stratford-on-Avon. It has been established, beyond doubt, from a study of his literary sources, his citations and quotations, that he had read much of the current literature of his time and had been substantially familiar with it. According to Raleigh "He was a hungry and rapid reader," but the idea does not commit us to believe that Shakespeare had read the classics in the original. He might have read them in translations. Particularly this very question, namely, whether Shakespeare read the classics in the original or in translations, has taken all these centuries to be solved and threatens to absorb many more before it can be finally settled and dropped.

Pope, in the preface to his edition of Shakespeare published in 1725, has some very aposite remarks on the subject. This we quote here :

"But as to his want of learning, it may be necessary to say something more ; there is certainly a vast difference between learning and languages. How far he was ignorant of the latter, I cannot determine ; but it is plain he had much reading at least, if they will not call it learning. Nor is it any great matter if a man has knowledge, whether he has it from one language or from another. Nothing is more evident than that he had a taste of natural philosophy, mechanics, ancient and modern history, poetical learning, and mythology : We find him very knowing in the customs, rites, and manners of antiquity. In *Coriolanus* and *Julius Caesar* not only the spirit, but the manners, of the Romans are exactly drawn ; and still a nicer distinction is shown between the manners of the Romans in the time of the former and of the latter. His reading in the ancient historians is no less conspicuous, in many references to particular passages : and the speeches copied from Plutarch in *Coriolanus* may, I think, as well be made an instance of his learning as those copied from Cicero in *Catiline* of Ben Jonson."

In order to do full justice to the subject it is necessary to glance at the state of learning in the middle of the sixteenth century, which covers the boyhood and youth of the bard of Avon. The age of Elizabeth, that is to say, the age of Shakespeare, was, as some historians of English literature observe, an age of translation. It constituted years of renaissance and classical renaissance according to the Cambridge historians "implied a knowledge and imitation of the golden past of classical antiquity and as a preliminary, a competent acquaintance with, and some power to use, the Latin and Greek languages. Italy gave it birth and it gradually spread beyond the Alps in Germany, France and England." Towards

¹ *Cambridge History of English Literature*, Vol. III.

the close of the reign of Henry VII and the beginning of the succeeding monarch (Henry VIII) a great impetus was imparted towards the classical learning and there was, indeed, a burning thirst among scholars to study the Humanities. Erasmus, one of the most eminent scholars of the age, who visited England for the first time in 1499, in a letter to Robert Fisher, who was then at Rome, spoke very highly of at least four scholars, namely, John Colet, William Grocyn, Thomas Linacre and Thomas More, who possessed a deep and thorough mastery of the classics. Neither during these days nor in the following vernacular could be claimed as a language of literature, vernacular was stamped vulgar. Lord Macaulay describes the actual circumstances in the following lines :

• "In the time of Henry VIII and Edward VI, a person who did not read Greek and Latin could read nothing, or next to nothing. Italian, was the only modern language which possessed anything that could be called literature. All the valuable books then extant in all the vernacular dialects of Europe would hardly have filled a single shelf."

There were personalities in literature who, even as late as in the Queen Elizabeth's reign, could not accept the vernacular to be a fit medium for useful publications—nay were apt to despise it. Bacon, who is regarded as a father of English prose and is himself a great master of his mother-tongues, despised it vehemently. It is curious to note that Bacon wrote both in English and in Latin ; but the latter was evidently the language of the learned to him ; it appealed to him as the universal language. The notion gradually developed and deepened in him so much so that towards the end of his life Bacon repented for writing in English for he had the strongest apprehension that for their language these books of the philosopher would be lost to posterity. Bacon could not allow this to happen and sat himself down to translate them from English into Latin. In the early period of the formation of English language such instances were not at all rare. Sir Thomas More described his ideal commonwealth of *Utopia* not in his mother-tongue but in the learned Latin. As late as 1551, 16 years after the death of More, this political romance was translated into English—but he had nothing to do with it. True it is that More also wrote several books in English, but they are far less important.

With the march of time, this current of thought, that is, the neglect of native tongue, began to disappear. Scholars were fast coming who were eager to lay open the rich intellectual treasures of Greece and Rome to the public view and consequently took upon themselves the task of translating the classical authors in their poor much-neglected mother-tongue, which could not be regarded, even in the year 1545, as a fit vehicle to carry high thought. This is evident from the note

of apology which Ascham thought necessary to make as a preface to one of his vernacular publications. The author of the *School-master* declares :

"Although to have written this book either in Latin or Greek had been more easier and fit for my trade in study, yet nevertheless, I supposing it no point of honesty, that my commodity should stop and hinder any part either of the pleasure or profit of many, have written this English matter in the English tongue for English men."

J. M. Robertson, in his *Elizabethan Literature* expresses the view that "English prose, nevertheless, was shaped rather by those who wrote for the Commons." Here we must mention the names of immortal early chroniclers of English literature, *e. g.*, Edward Hall and Ralph Holinshed to whom our poet's indebtedness has been much. Hall's description of the end of Henry VI is so graphic and free from stilted language that it can be read with interest even to-day. Of kind Henry VII Hall records :

"By reason whereof, king Henry the Seventh, not without cause, sued to july (Julius) Bishop of Rome to have him canonized, as other saints be ; but the fees of canonizing of a king were of so great a quantity at Rome (more than the canonizing of a Bishop or a prelate, although he sat in Saint Peter's chair) that the said king thought it more necessary to keep his money at home for the profit of his realm and country rather than to impoverity his kingdom for the gaining of a new holy day of Saint Henry : remitting to God the judgement of his will and intent.."

What a hidden fling at the Church of Rome !

The works of Hooker and Fox also shaped the early English prose in a definite manner. *Ecclesiastical Polity* of the former and the vast compilation of the ecclesiastical controversies of the latter in his *The Acts and Momments of the Martyrs* are contributions not only in the ecclesiastical world but also to the field of literature and were much in popular appreciation.

But still the inferiority complex regarding their mother-tongue did not altogether vanish from the hearts of English scholars. Even in 1602 when *Hamlet* and *Fairy Queen*, which the Englishmen of any age can be well proud of, were known to the masses, Sir Thomas Bodley (1545-1613), the founder of Bodleian Library considered vernacular plays as "baggage books not worthy to be vouchsafed a rowme in so noble a Library." Himself a student of classics and well up in a number of continental languages, Bodley was certainly influenced by the old orthodox view when he had to decide the fate of these vernacular books. As a result of stepmotherly attitude to the English plays Shakespearean publications were accorded no place in the Bodleian catalogues of 1605 and 1620. But, however, Sir Thomas had duly made a contract with the Stationers' Company in 1610-11 according to the terms of which the latter was bound to submit a

copy of every book of which it was the publisher as a presentation to Sir Thomas's foundation.

The greatest of English translations—that of the *Holy Bible*—was undertaken in the earlies of the sixteenth century and generations of scholars continued to ensure its perfection till 1611 when the *Authorised Version* or *King James's Bible* finally appeared in the field ; but it should not be forgotten, however, that this *Authorised Version* was based upon the work of its predecessors most notable, of whom were Tyndale and Coverdale, who, undaunted by the extreme persecution from the Papal England, continued with zeal and conviction with the translation. As soon as it was realised by the classical scholars that the common populace should be given an opportunity of being acquainted with the poets of antiquity they began in right earnest to translate the ancients. Book after book began to be rendered into the language of the land and the literature began much to grow. A modern student of the history of the early developments of English literature will, indeed, be much interested to find the extent of English translations from foreign tongues. During the years 1550-1660 “there were two hundred and eighteen translations of two hundred and twentythree Italian authors in general literature and poetry this not including more than as many more than Lambe would have called ‘book in Sheep’s clothing.’ A more recent appraisement of Spanish books printed in Tudor England, including translations from the Castilian tongue, mounts up to one hundred and sixty titles. And a similar appraisement for France shows, only within the life-time of Shakespeare, the surprising total of nearly four hundred titles.” Sometimes the classics was translated not from the original but from its rendering in some current language *e. g.*, Italian or French. Thus, *Plutarch’s Lives* was translated first into French by Bishop Amyot and from French into English by Sir Thomas North in 1579. The Bishop of Marseilles translated *The History writtome by Thucydides* in 1550, from a French version of Claude de Seyssell. In 1547 *The Secrete of Secretes of Aristotle* was ‘englished’ from its French version, *The Manuell of Epictetus*, was rendered into English from the original Greek through French in 1567, and as late as 1581 *Ten Bookes of Homer’s Iliades* was presented before the London readers by Arthur Hall, Esqr., who used French translations of the poet as his source. Sir John Bourchier similarly translated Marcus Antoninus’ *The Golden Book of Marcus Aurelius, Emperour and Eloquent Orator* out of its French rendering from original Greek in the year 1533. The successive stages of the translation is very nicely recorded in the quadruplet :

“ ’Twas Greek at first, that Greek was Latin made,
That Latin, French ; that French to English straid :
Thus ’twixt one Plutarch there’s more difference,
Than i’ th’ same Englishman return’d from France.”

When Shakespeare was preparing himself for the onerous task of play-making, translations of the classics were overflowing the literary field of the island and the hungry reader had been making full use of them. Translations already published he did not afford to lose sight of. Raleigh speaks of Shakespeare's reading in the following few lines :

"But the translations and imitations of the classics, which poured from the press during the second half of the century (16th century), the poems and love pamphlets and plays of the university wits, the tracts and dialogues in the prevailing Italian taste—all these were the making of the new age and the favourite reading of Shakespeare. Among the publications of his own age some few stand out pre-eminent as books that were of more than passing interest to Shakespeare, books, that he ransacked from cover to cover for the material of his plays. The books that served him best for his dramatic plots were Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles*, Sir Thomas North's translation of Plutarch's *Lives* and the Italian novelists, in many translations, chief among which must be reckoned Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*, containing a selection of the choicest novels of the great Italian master's".¹

Before Shakespeare's birth in 1564 there had been translated a number of classics. Scholars have been busy in the first place to ascertain what books had been accessible, for an average reader, through the medium of English and then to scrutinise how far and to what extent Shakespeare utilised them. The inextricable tangle of yes and no will never be solved directly, and there is no other means of satisfying the quest except this indirect reasoning. By dint of their devoted research in the field they have drained out the titles of the books that had been translated before Shakespeare's appearance and have presented us with a formidable list. The earliest in this field of research seems to be Steevens whose list was further improved upon by Malone. Exhaustive bibliographies have, however, been appended to the *Cambridge History of English Literature* (Vol. IV) and to Dr. Schelling's *English Literature during the Lifetime of Shakespeare* as also many others. The extent of translations from other languages can well be guessed if anybody likes to peruse these bibliographies. It appears, therefore, that before the hungry reader and prolific writer finally left his pen homebound the English bookstalls were decorated with Homer, Euripides, Ovid, Cicero, Plautus, Hippocrates, Xenophon, Herodotus, Machiavelli, Plato, Aesop, Virgil, Ronsard, Aristotle, Plutarch, Horace, Seneca, Livy, Terrence, Pliny, Cato, Tacitus and many others, englished

¹ *Shakespeare* (English Men of Letters Series), pp. 65, 67.

either in part or in full.¹ It is universally admitted that our poet was familiar with those authors since all his plots are adaptations from one of these masters of classics but the problem, or better, the puzzle, is not there. In what language did Shakespeare read his masters—in ancient or in his native tongue? The whole problem hinges on this query.

Before discussing this at some length we may better imagine what the question may really imply. If we can reasonably conclude that Shakespeare read the ancient authors in their respective tongues, namely, Greek and Latin, Ben Jonson's 'little Latine and Lesse Greek' will be successfully refuted. But that will only transplant the master oak from the green forest into the dry desert of scholarship where everything is measured from the standpoint of originality. But if we have to turn back in the opposite direction, it will disprove gossipy Aubrey, no doubt, but will obviously lead us to believe that Shakespeare entered as a finished jewel in the literary field of England nobody knowing for certain whence, how and when. Family circumstances of the poet certainly favours not the first idea. No ruined businessman of the seventeenth century who dares not go to the church for fear of being heckled for his debts can allow his eldest son to go on with his copies of Plutarch and Seneca up to a scholar's standard. It may, however, be argued that the poet could as well utilise his spare hours in studying Greek and Latin. Yes he could; but the probability is small. He realised before 22

¹ Schelling observes that Machiavelli's *Prince* was not translated in Shakespeare's time but the book seems to be referred to in more places than one, e. g., "Am I a politic? am I subtle? am I a Machiavel?"—*Merry Wives*, Act III, Sc. 1.

And again :

Alençon ! that notorious Machiavel !

It dies, an if it had a thousand lives.

1 *Henry VI*, Act V, Sc. 4.

As also

And set the murd'rus Machiavel to School.

3 *Henry VI*, Act III, Sc. 3.

Minto, in his *Characteristics of English Poets*, describes at length the early translations of Ovid and Seneca. Minto observes : "What drew Arthur Golding to translate Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, is hard to conjecture. He was an indefatigable translator from Latin, but his subjects generally were of a different cast. He translated from Justin in 1564 ; Caesar's commentaries in 1565 ; and numerous ecclesiastical and other works. His translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* was completed in 1567." P.161.

that his father was a thoroughly ruined man—and it is of him that the whole family had much expectation. This realisation dragged him to the metropolis where he entered the theatrical world in search of a career. He had to appear as an actor—no dignified position in the society—and had to utilise his spare hours in composing materials for the stage. His rate of production of plays clearly proves that he was, indeed, a rapid writer and perhaps wasted not a single moment. By his grammar school education he could simply pick up the rudiments of Greek and Latin but thus far and no further. Scholarship in those tongues were quite out of question.

The alternative view that the poet really acquired such a mastery of the tongues that he could read and assimilate the classical authors in originals may be supported with equal zeal. A young fortune-hunter travelled down to London from Stratford sometime by 1586 and was altogether lost in the city-crowds till we discover him in 1593 in the association of Lord Southampton for the first time since he was lost in the multitude with a bundle of papers, “the first heir of his invention” with a motto :

“Vilia miretur vulgus ; mihi flavous Apollo
Pocula Castalia plena ministret Aqua”

This is a quotation from Ovid.

If we start from hence to speculate upon the gap in his career, cannot we tentatively propose to accept that during this preparatory period from 1586 to 1591 the playwright sincerely took to the study to the classics which alone, perhaps Shakespeare knew very well, could furnish him with popular and facinating plots so that he might successfully compete with the university wits who had been holding the board ?

Here's the puzzle and we have to attempt its solution by the classical method of determining his direct debts, if any, to the original authors and adjusting them to the probable period in his career. This we propose to undertake in the issue.*

(To be continued)

A STUDY OF SOME OF THE FACTORS RELATED TO READING RETARDATION FOR REMEDIAL PURPOSES

SRINIBAS BHATTACHARYA

Reading has very often proved challenging at the initial stage for some reasons or others. It is, however, interesting to analyze the mental processes involved in reading and to locate the causes of failure of some in coping with reading. It would be, however, quite interesting to find out how a retarded person approaches the problem of reading and what are the stumbling blocks, and how they could be helped.

Children learning reading as a new skill will inevitably make an attempt at a word on the evidence of one or more letters in it. This is a natural resource. In practice no reader pays attention to every single letter but retarded readers usually try to make out single words with little or no contact. He may be further handicapped by confusing one letter with another. One of the hypotheses is that lack of letter knowledge and consequent random guess work are outstanding causes of reading failure. The second hypothesis is formulated on the consideration that some still find reading difficult inspite of their letter knowledge. This is partly because of their inability to blend the individual sounds produced by the individual letters. Quite a few tendencies are observed to impede correct reading. For example, a tendency to start reading from the other end are typical of a number of retarded readers.

Sometimes the retarded readers find it pretty difficult to discriminate letters appearing in different portions, say at the beginning, middle, or end of a word. In such cases the selection of the correct response become more exacting.

Even they could discriminate between letters at various position, difficulty is faced at the time of blending the two or more sounds. This forms a big step in the reading process. It is a fact that a great many of the beginners' difficulties stem from the various ways of representing English vowel sounds. The third hypothesis may, therefore, be formulated as follows : Formation of the phonic associations often proves difficult and is one of the stumbling blocks on the way to reading.

There are quite a large number of factors possibly related to retardation in reading. Some of them may be at levels other than those which are strictly cognitive. One's limited and narrow reading span, or stammering, might present outstanding difficulties in reading. Similarly one's stammering might prove an impairment to effective reading.

The next hypothesis may be worked out on this consideration. It may be that each of the factors contribute to retardation in reading to some extent, but it is extremely difficult to find out the relative weightages of each of the factors. It may be that reading may be impeded by an interaction between the factors or stumbling blocks are caused by some other factors yet to be explored.

It has been almost customary to believe that reading failures are mostly attributable to emotional disturbances, but this is too broad a generalization. An intensive research is needed for spotting out the exact nature of emotional states of mind directly responsible for the failure in reading. There may be extreme shyness or sluggishness or overconsciousness of the frustration leading to reading failures, owing to family pressure.

To treat this problem of reading retardation in an isolated way may not be proper from a pedagogical point of view, but it is perhaps practical to give differential treatment to each group having a specific dominant problem located by means of diagnostic interviews of tests.

Motivation occupies a very important place in the affective domain and it is quite likely that one in spite of all his acumen, does not get motivated in reading. The basic problem of motivation is yet to be tapped for enabling one to release that energy needed for reading as an overt behavior.

If, reading as a behavior pattern is analyzed in terms of its components, it would possibly be observed that it involves knowledge or perceptual functioning, skill, and effort as well as a minimal personality functioning. Much light has to be thrown on the area before one is in a position to formulate the complex process of interaction between the various levels of cognition, affection and conation involved in reading. Time has come when we can hardly remain satisfied with the speculations on reading. We should start thinking in terms of remedial programs to be tried out on different groups for finding out their impact. This would help in testing the hypothesis and at the same time exploring remedial possibilities in various directions.

The ultimate objective has been to develop a Remedial Reading Program in the light of the experience derived from the use of the diagnostic check-list. In addition to the use of the checklist made by the investigator, teachers concerned were also asked to evaluate the comprehensiveness and practical use of the checklist.

The Remedial Reading Programs took care of quite a few of the specific difficulties.

Procedure : Material and Techniques.

The reading programs prepared with a view to meeting some of the basic problems in reading were tried out on one group (experimental group) while the traditional method was tried out on the other group (experimental group).

The Programed Reading Texts evolved by the writer consist of parts designed to take the pupil from choice of single letters to words, in story context, with a color key system. The seven vowels whose variant spellings give trouble are dealt with in this way.

In Part I, the first appearance of each letter is accompanied by a picture which incorporated the letter shape. At this first appearance, the relevant letters are always in the initial position. Responses are selected from a range of four or five letters rather than from the whole alphabet. Each group, furthermore, contains letters that are most often confused, so careful discrimination is called for. The response to be selected is sometimes a word, sometimes a letter and sometimes a picture, but in every case confirmation of correction depends in identifying a single letter.

In part I the pupil is expected to begin to use the sound of a word as a criterion and also to meet some of the problems like reversals, etc. Part 2 introduced a number key system designed to help the readers in forming phonic associations. The seven vowel sounds that are especially troublesome because of variant spellings have each been allotted a color. Each color has been introduced with a picture to help the memory, the object in the picture having been chosen for its ready association with a color. Part 3 and 4 use the color key system to lead the pupils from regular to irregular spellings. A story material has been presented for making a journey from word to sentence. The vocabulary of the story material is held fairly tightly to the basic word list researched by McNally and Murray in Key Words to Literacy.

In addition to the Programmed Remedial Reading Texts designed to meet some of the problems confronting a retarded reader, certain other techniques were tried out to create a felt need for reading and arousing their levels of motivation. Various stimulations were tried with the purpose of supplementing the program. The technique of evaluation mainly consisted of Wide Range Test.

In addition to the sophisticated program supplementary programs have also been kept in view. It has been considered worthwhile to continue to build meaningful new associations for sight words through :

- (1) Contrast & Comparison
- (2) Oral & Context clues
- (3) Classification
- (4) Pictorial clues

The following objectives have also been considered with a view to making the program comprehensive. To develop accurate recognition of the basic vocabulary, to develop more fully the ability to use context clues to help in the recognition of new words, to provide for the practice in the careful scrutiny of words to recognise similarities in :

- (1) Form
- (2) The initial

P 8423

- (3) Medial
- (4) Ending consonants
- (5) Digraphs & blends
- (6) Vowel likeness & differences

To extend and review the auditory and visual recognition of all consonant sounds, the difference in hard and soft C and J and similarity between C and K.

To develop recognition of the short and long sounds of vowels.

To direct attention to vowel likeness and differences in words.

To develop auditory and visual recognition of such common phonograms.

To develop greater skill in recognizing differences in configuration and letter similarities in words commonly confused, and to direct attention to double letters in medial and final positions in words.

SAMPLE

The sample used consisted of twenty-five cases in Woodside School *viz.*, the age range was from 8 to 16 years, and the I. Q. ranged from 40 to 75. The initial as well as the final performances in reading tests were recorded and then compared group wise.

RESULT

Simple analysis of variance including 't' test was carried out with a view to finding out if there is any significant difference between and within groups. The time for treatment was six months. F ratios were found out for the purpose. It was found that the rate of learning is significantly higher in the experimental group receiving remedial treatment.

OBSERVATIONS

This paper is the outcome of an investigation into the causes of reading retardation. The various dimensions of reading behavior which have been demonstrated by the retarded readers have been taken into account for diagnostic purposes. It is interesting to observe that reading retardation as a behavior has its various dimensions and is the result of complex interaction between the various factors.

It is also observed that cultural deprivation is in many cases, responsible for poor reading—and the home pressure adds to the intensity of the problem.

One's exposure to the environment has a significant bearing on the reading ability or disability.

Reading as a behavior requires detailed analysis with reference to its various dimensions. In spite of a few studies in reading, sufficient light is yet to be thrown on the areas covered by reading as a behavior. It

is no doubt, a complex activity involving cognition, motivation and action. At the same time every reader presents unique reading behavior at various levels of articulation, comprehension and appreciation.

It not only involves word recognition, it also involves study skills, maturity in comprehension, maturity in adjusting to the reading demands of the content fields. Thus, it is quite likely that one's personality is reflected through one's reading. There exists a lot of scope for research in this direction.

DIAGNOSTIC CHECKLIST

(Reading)

- Names of letters not known.
- Sounds of letters not known.
- Cannot visually synthesise words.
- Unable to combine sounds into words.
- Ineffective visual inspection of the various parts of words.
- Want of rapid visual inspection of the various parts of words.
- Tendency to confuse letters in different positions, initial, middle or final.
- Habitual addition, omission or repetition of words.
- Wild random guessing.
- Ineffective use of context clues.
- Ignores word endings.
- Distorted articulation.
- Failure to articulate certain sounds.
- Poor visual span of reading.
- Short eye-voice span.
- Over analysis in word recognition.

Table showing the various manifestations of Reading behaviour and the possible causes and Remarks.

Presented below :

Behavior	Possible Causes	Possible Programs & Remarks
1. Lack of letter knowledge	Poor visual discrimination, Poor visual memory, Poor symbol-sound association	Use of cues, pictorial & context clues Reinforcement-techniques Recorded taped programs (Auditory). Use of tactile stimulation.

P8423

2. Reversal Tendency Cross-laterality, etc. Frosting Developmental Program.
3. Tendency to omit or add-random guess. Emotional disturbance. Poor concentration. Poor visual analysis. Frequent distractions. Special exercises & programs-use of projected program.
4. Distorted articulation due to poor blending. Poor capacity to hold the sounds in sequence. Program on Auditory Sequencing. Use of languagemaster & tape-recorder.
5. Confusion. Lack of ability in visual synthesis. Eyemovement-hardly follows any direction. Pre-conception and hasty & erroneous use of context clues. Ineffective visual analysis of words.
6. Lack of ability in auditory blending. Emotional or any other problem at the psycho-physical level. Use of 3 speed tape recorders having different blendings on it.

II. COMPREHENSION :

1. Insufficient Sight Vocabulary
 - (1) Faulty Word Study
 - (2) Ineffective use of context clues.
 - (3) Failure to associate meaning with words.
 - (4) Overanalysis in word recognition.

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RECENT STEINBECK STUDIES IN THE UNITED STATES

TETSUMARO HAYASHI

The literary reputation of John Steinbeck, the 1962 Nobel Prize winner, has begun to rise steadily, especially since his death in 1968. Such leading critics as Peter Lisca, Warren French, and Joseph Fontenrose have continued to enlighten serious Steinbeck students. Lisca's *The Wide World of John Steinbeck* (1958) was instrumental in initiating this movement. The John Steinbeck Society has been publishing the *Steinbeck Quarterly* since 1968 and recently initiated the Steinbeck Monograph Series. The *Steinbeck Quarterly*, published under the joint-sponsorship of Ball State University and the John Steinbeck Society, has discovered promising scholars such as Richard Astro, Robert DeMott, John Ditsky (Canada), Lawrence W. Jones (England), and Lester Marks. Since May, 1969 when the University of Connecticut sponsored the first Steinbeck Conference based on *The Grapes of Wrath* and its impact on the 1930's, even further interest has been generated. Richard Astro, who has recently joined the *Steinbeck Quarterly* as Assistant Editor, successfully directed the 1970 Steinbeck Conference at Oregon State University. Both Astro and I are now editing the proceedings of the conference, *John Steinbeck: The Man and His Work*, which will be published by Oregon State University Press early in 1971.

The original Steinbeck Society was created in 1966 by Preston Beyer and myself and grew to be a 53-member society by 1969. By June 1970 it listed more than 200 members in nine countries (U.S.A., Canada, Japan, England, Australia, India, Korea, Malaysia, and Rumania) and forty-one states. The *Steinbeck Quarterly*, the three-year old journal of the Society, is now reaching nineteen countries. The Society sends its publication to twenty-three U. S. I. S. sponsored libraries abroad and nine Ball State University European Centers.

The Society has many other reasons to be proud of its accomplishments. It not only has such prominent Steinbeck scholars as Peter Lisca, Joseph Fontenrose, and others as active members, but has as contributing members such noted Steinbeck collectors as Preston Beyer and Roy S. Simmonds (England). It is privileged to have Warren French, one of the leading scholars in American literature, the author and editor of several books on Steinbeck and related subjects, as President of the Society and Senior Editorial Advisor. Its members include representatives of all walks of life including librarians, book collectors, book sellers, poets, journalists, lawyers, business executives, government officials, college professors, high school teachers, and students. The institutional memberships include

most of the outstanding university and public libraries at home and abroad.

As Editor of the *Steinbeck Quarterly* and Director of the John Steinbeck Society, I am in a position to recognize some of the significant directions in which Steinbeck critics are currently moving. In my direct contact with them I have observed the following trends: (1) a conscious effort to treat more specific and narrower subjects in Steinbeck research; (2) a growing interest in comparative studies between Steinbeck and other authors such as Faulkner, Hemingway, D. H. Lawrence, for instance; (3) an enthusiastic research on films and filmscripts based on Steinbeck's work¹; (4) a steady effort to explore Steinbeck's minor works, including his short stories and articles originally published in various magazines and newspapers; (5) an attempt to collect Steinbeck's unpublished manuscripts and letters;² (6) a serious interest in another comparative study between two works such as a comparison between *The Grapes of Wrath* and *In Dubious Battle*; *Cannery Row* and *Sweet Thursday*; and *The Winter of Our Discontent* and *America and Americans*; (7) projects to write biographies of Steinbeck³; (8) a belated critical interest in Ed Ricketts, Steinbeck's "artistic conscience," whose influence upon Steinbeck has long been recognized but not yet fully assessed; (9) a recent interest in source studies of Steinbeck's fiction; and finally (10) a special interest in Steinbeck's political views on the war in Viet Nam.

Although Steinbeck has long suffered from both unkind criticism and equally undeserving neglect from academic circles, his reputation has begun to rise in recent years. Serious scholars who are contributing to the *Steinbeck Quarterly*, and other journals such as *PMLA*, *American Literature*, *Modern Fiction Studies*, and *Twentieth Century Literature* now have a sense of aesthetic distance; an advantage which enables them to reassess accurately Steinbeck's philosophy of life, his image of man, and his artistic contribution to American literature. The following book-length studies may serve as a basic guide to Steinbeck's major works in either Viking, Bantam, or Random House editions.

1. Harry T. Moore. *The Novels of John Steinbeck: A First Critical Study*. Chicago: Normandie House, 1939 (reprinted in 1968 by Kennikat Press in Port Washington, New York; the oldest book-length study but it still has a historical and bibliographical value).
2. E. W. Tedlock, Jr. and C. V. Wicker (eds.). *Steinbeck and His Critics: A Record of Twenty-Five Years*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1957 (a handy collection of articles by Warren French, Peter Lisca, Frederick I. Carpenter, etc.).
3. Peter Lisca. *The Wide World of John Steinbeck*. New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1958 (the definitive critical book; largely responsible for initiating the post-war Steinbeck criticism in the United States).

4. Warren French. *John Steinbeck*. New York : Twayne, 1961 (an extremely popular and enlightening book that has been translated into three foreign languages).
5. F. W. Watt. *John Steinbeck*. New York : Grove Press, 1962 (a popular introductory book on the subject ; unfortunately out of print now).
6. Joseph Fontenrose. *John Steinbeck : An Introduction and Interpretation*. New York : Barnes and Noble, 1963 (a distinguished classical scholar's unique critical appraisal of Steinbeck's major works).
7. Warren French (ed.). *A Companion to The Grapes of Wrath*. New York : Viking Press, 1963 (an excellent anthology of pertinent materials on the subject that gives the reader a historical perspective on the reputation of this novel ; a handy reference book).
8. Tetsumaro Hayashi. *John Steinbeck : A Concise Bibliography 1930-1965*. Introduction by Warren French. Metuchen, N. J. : Scarecrow Press, 1967 (the only comprehensive bibliography available so far, although a revised, enlarged, and annotated edition is in preparation).
9. Agnes McNeill Donohue (ed.). *A Casebook on The Grapes of Wrath*. Thomas Y. Crowell, 1968 (a handy reference book, a collection of selected articles on the novel).
10. Lester J. Marks. *Thematic Design in the Novels of John Steinbeck*. The Hague, Netherlands : The Mouton Co., 1969 (the most recent critical book : especially Chapters I and III are excellent).
11. Richard O'Connor. *John Steinbeck*. New York : McGraw-Hill Co., 1970 (the only book-length biography available so far ; an interesting and sympathetic biography for young people). In preparation :
12. Richard Astro and Tetsumaro Hayashi (eds.). *John Steinbeck : The Man and His Work : Proceedings of the 1970 Steinbeck Conference*. Corvallis : Oregon State University Press, 1971 (essays by Robert DeMott, John Ditsky, Peter Lisca, and others on *Cannery Row*, *Sweet Thursday*, *Viva Zapata*, etc.).
13. Tetsumaro Hayashi and Robert DeMott (eds.). *John Steinbeck in Perspective*. Introduction by Warren French, to be published in 1971 or 1972 (a collection of new, comparative essays on Steinbeck and Faulkner, Hemingway, D. H. Lawrence, Hawthorne, etc.).
14. Lawrence William Jones. *John Steinbeck as a Fabulist*. Toronto University of Toronto Press, 1971 (?).

To conclude, I should like to share with you wise advice Warren French has issued : "One of the primary duties of the (John Steinbeck) Society is to add new dimensions to our understanding of John Steinbeck by encouraging the study of the distinction between these two Steinbecks (the involved journalist and the detached artist) and reaffirming in the two distinct areas of American cultural studies and fictional aesthetics the separate, yet ultimately related importance of both⁴.

Notes

1. In February, 1970, San Jose State College is reported to be sponsoring the Steinbeck Film Festival with Martha Cox as Director and Peter Lisca as Advisor. In addition Professor Lisca, who helped Don Wrye do a short film on Steinbeck for the U. S. I. S., is completing a film for Lee Mendelson Productions to be called "Forty Years of American Life as Seen in the Works of John Steinbeck," which will be a television special.

2. Robert DeMott and Lester Marks, both of Ohio University, are compiling an edition of Steinbeck's correspondence.

3. Richard Astro of Oregon State University, and Jackson J. Benson of San Diego State College, are preparing full length biographies of Steinbeck.

4. *Steinbeck Quarterly*, II (Spring, 1969), 9.

THE END OF SOCIAL CONFLICTS

M. C. GHOSE



What is wrong with the modern civilization ? Instead of establishing peace and contentment it has been consistently developing dissatisfaction, unrest, revolts and armed conflicts in human communities. And there has grown a widespread feeling of impulsive rage against the present order, which often tends to terminate in vindictive destructions. Some fundamental changes which will ensure the establishment of social harmony in the life of modern man must be effected for the development of human welfare, peace and happiness. Of what use is civilization if it cannot develop happiness which is the end of human life ?

It is a fatal mistake to ignore the importance of social harmony in human society. The direction of human energies for the betterment of man's life and the progressive development of his civilization can never be proper and adequate without the growth of social harmony. The fate of human civilization is surely at stake without this harmony. And nor is that all. Nothing in human possession, material or mental, is useful and safe without the presence of harmony in the social life of man. Only a healthy society can determine the healthy nature of its citizens.

Harmony is the natural end of every society because social forces which bind individuals together work silently to build it up. The absence of social harmony indicates the presence of some artificial factor which restrains its formation in human society. The real cause of the disruption of social harmony is the growth of the monstrous trait of selfishness in social man. It is this selfishness which has fostered the development of the spirits of injustice and antipathy in social groups ; and these in their turn, have been responsible for the development of insecurity and uncertainty in common man. Everywhere there is either unemployment or a complete lack of suitable activities and useful engagements, even for those who are anxious to work ; the number of unemployed persons even among the educated and the technically trained is now alarmingly large. All is then, not well in modern human society. But the immediate cause of the basic mental distress and despair of common man in his society is the condition created by hunger and poverty of his life. It is the condition of the simultaneous presence of hunger and poverty with extreme forms of wealth and luxury that has favoured the rapid growth of selfishness in modern human society ; the gap between the highest earning group and the lowest earning group must be made narrower. It is an excessive form of economic imbalance that has prevented the formation of social harmony in human society.

Social disharmony with an impact of human selfishness has been the major factor for effecting the origin of all unrests and conflicts including

wars in the society of man. Workers, students, technicians and the masses, almost in every country, seem to have been dissatisfied with the conditions of their lives ; they feel that they have become disillusioned for they could not get what they had expected from life. In the field of international affairs conditions are no better. Quarrels, strifes and conflicts among nations are almost constant. It is not the development of atomic weapons but the growth of the spirit of selfishness charged with hatred that is going to be the most dangerous entity in the life of future man.

Even in everyday life, people today, in different groups, sections and professions agitate vigorously to get more either for their own selves or for their own groups ; they do not want to justify their demands by looking at the total perspective for considering the needs of others. Modern man has become selfish ; he has become inconsiderate.

The presence of hunger and extreme forms of poverty, whether in a small or a large section of a society, in addition to the generation of general dissatisfaction, makes the entire population in the long run, through subtle social implications, unsympathetic, unreasonable and unfit for healthy struggles for worthy acquisitions of life. Huxley says that a hungry population, must necessarily be selfish, unreasonable and violent.¹ All governmental activities for elevating the general condition of the masses must start with the poorest group of the population. The establishment of well-organized State Bureaus under the able guidance of experts for advising and helping individuals of the poorest section of the population to adopt measures and activities for securing the basic necessities of their lives, should be considered indispensable by all modern States. It should be the essential duty of all Governments to work effectively for improving the economic condition of the needy, the poor and the unemployed. This all Governments can do by establishing suitable patterns of indigenous industries and also by taking recourse to special contrivances and endeavours. Modern civilization has not yet comprehended the need and the importance of the elevation of the economic condition of the poorest section of the population of human communities. The establishment of the condition in which nobody is obliged to remain hungry should be the basic aim of all modern Governments. Let us leave aside the consideration of unadvanced countries ; even in such an affluent country as the United States of America, the number of people who remain hungry is really vast.²

¹ Collected Essays—T. H. Huxley Vol. III, Science and Education ; Page 33.

² After several weeks of Congressional investigation into the extent of hunger in the United States of America the news to the effect that millions of Americans did not get enough to eat each day and that some four million school children attended classes hungry every day was flashed from Washington on the 9th June, 1968. The news was published in many newspapers.

The running of numerous small cooperative societies by the common people either for producing or for keeping in readiness for sale, such objects and articles as are necessary for every-day use and the establishment of suitable cottage industries by the masses are the basic methods for the removal of extreme forms of poverty from a country. Aids in the shape of charity demoralizes people but activities of cooperative concerns develop self-confidence and mental strength. Cottage industries are specially suitable for individuals for they give them a chance to produce their materials with their own hands, during periods of no work, or leisure. And handwork moreover, in connection with these can in a subtle way achieve the mental development of individuals. But all these cooperative societies and cottage industries require a proper selection of individuals both for organizing and running these concerns in methodical ways.

Gandhiji's choice of the production of Khadi with Charkas as a basic cottage industry for the masses in a poor country like India was unique. The fundamental merit of this choice was there because elements of competition and difficulties arising out of over-production and problems with regard to ready markets were negligible in the case of this particular commodity. But many of the strict followers of Gandhiji failed to understand the value of his wise advice in this matter. Handwork not only develops skill and craftsmanship but also elements of Art in the manipulative processes. And the development of all these indirectly secures the development of the mind of the participant. I personally feel that all industrial workers, including labourers in factories should have some type of non-mechanical handwork specially during their leisure so that they may do away with the ill effects of their boring activities which tell upon their minds and bodies. These workers must be made free so that they may develop finer qualities of the mind of man through such manual actions as are akin to creative activities.

The development of the social feeling which will readily consider the conditions of others is necessary for the betterment of the social situation. The pattern of our social living should change. All must live comparatively plain lives ; at least extreme forms of luxurious living must go. The rise of the consideration for others and the development of altruism in man can help him to adopt this way of living. Hunger, poverty and unemployment exist in modern societies only because there are people in other sections, who live in tumultuous luxury. And these are the people who unjustly use up the shares that might have been utilised for the social elevation of the poor and the unemployed. The effect of this practice is disastrous to the entire community. It is immoral to force wrongfully one group to sacrifice for the gain of another group for it definitely tends to break social harmony. The ethical sense of man grew out of his social needs and considerations. Activities that are congenial for the improve-

ment of the healthy tone of our society are considered moral ; and those that are detrimental to the interest of our society are branded immoral.

Morality and justice are the best coordinating agents in human communities ; they are therefore, essential for the upkeep of social harmony. For its permanence the edifice of social harmony must be built upon the foundation of altruism ; and the chief binding materials for its structure are to be the elements of morality and justice. The chief characteristic of the modern civilized society is the presence of an extreme form of competition in which all fight for superior positions and for higher economic conditions without having any consideration for the poorest section of the community. People who are in service try to draw the highest possible emoluments and great advantages through various forms of pressure but they never try to understand the effect of these selfish advantages upon the masses. The procurement of undue economic gains among a section of the population is sure to deprive other sections of their natural dues.

For his own welfare and for the progress of his civilization man must change the style of his living. It is supremely necessary for man to develop the convention of leading a simple way of life. Only this can make his mind free for thinking and feeling for others. There is no other effective method for building up the most basic foundation of social harmony in modern human society. Civilized man must humanize himself.

It is certainly vulgar to wallow in luxury when many are obliged to go without food or to live in dire poverty. All great thinkers and humanitarians of all ages have always insisted upon the imparativeness and usefulness of plain living perhaps for giving all a chance to procure the bare necessities of life. Man moreover, can develop his elegant culture, serenity and happiness easily and naturally, only by living a simple and harmonious life. Ancient Greeks who led absolutely simple lives could rise to great heights in the domain of human thought and culture.

It is not implied that all material resources and earnings are to be equally distributed among the members of a community. Men are unequal by nature ; their abilities, capacities and merits are all different. And as they will get their remunerations according to their merits and capacities they will all be different. Human civilization will definitely sanction this idea ; it is in keeping with the concept of democracy. There is a false notion among the general public that according to democracy all are equal even from the point of view of abilities and capacities. It is this notion that has developed the idea, by an extension of wishful thinking in common man, that he is good enough for any work or any position. He therefore, sincerely believes that he is fit for higher positions ; only wrong social forces are holding him back. It is this way of thinking that is now responsible for the growth of modern unrest and dissatisfaction in advanced societies. Education ought to help man to know the extent of his personal abilities. "Know thyself" was a valuable piece of advice of the Greek Philosophers.

Man, however, can secure his development with the aid of his endeavours, struggles and experiences and can therefore become fit for higher avocations and positions of his life. There should exist therefore, the "Social Flexibility" to move from one situation to another, the facility to go from one status to a higher one, for all individuals who happen to acquire better qualities and qualifications. The presence of this freedom without any form of social limitation, indicates the true spirit of democracy in human society ; it is enough for making the mind of man free from the idea of any form of social imposition or bondage. And there will naturally be those who will earn much more than the average but they will have to learn how to spend their earnings so that they can help the establishment of the social balance in their community. And this can be established if they can develop the inclination to achieve social welfare by depending upon their economic solvency.

The life of man is great because of its possibilities ; and much of these possibilities can be realized in his life only through his creative activities. Although man has created all his possessions, material and mental, with the aid of his creative skill the reconstruction of his own life is the highest product of his creativeness.

Man in future, must reconstruct himself so that he may enrich his life with the development of certain mental traits which elevate and ennoble his life. Of these altruism is the most valuable trait for vitalizing his life and consolidating his society.

It is not the accumulation of material prosperity, but the systematically organized store of mental wealth of the people that makes a nation prosperous. In the richness of the social mind of a nation lies the prosperity of its people. And only a nation enjoying social harmony can become truly prosperous. Social harmony is the condition which fosters the real development of human mind.

The advanced mind of man has a tendency to transcend the limits of the sensible world ; and when it is enriched with altruism it becomes strongly inclined to create spiritual thoughts and concepts. We know that it is the element of love in man that aids the development of his visionary imagination and thus prepares the field for the natural growth of spirituality in his life. But what is altruism if it is not love in the truest sense of the term ? All social forces are spiritual forces ; they too have helped man to become spiritual.

The spiritual development of man means the opening of a new dimension of his life ; it works not only to make him supremely happy but also to earn for him a definite power to survive in the modern atomic age of utter conflicts and confusions.³

Man becomes different with his spiritual development ; he develops

³ Vide Arnold Toynbee's "Address delivered at Edinburgh University" in 1952.

a world of noble and elevating qualities which on their part go to generate divinity in his life. It is thus, the basic condition of social harmony which can, ultimately lead man to spirituality and divinity.

II

Wrangles and discussions on the merits of different forms of social parties and Governments can neither end nor diminish human sufferings. There are political workers who seem to determine the merits and the demerits of different forms of social Governments with a view to selecting the most suitable form for the welfare of citizens. There are, for example, many who uselessly spend much time and energy for ascertaining whether Socialistic Democracy is superior to Democratic Socialism or whether National Socialism is better than General Socialism. These are idle pursuits from the point of view of practical politics. What is important is not the most valuable theoretical content of a form of Government but the spirit with which a democratic system is utilized for the achievement of the welfare of all citizens.

Ideas of great values and beauties of human life have been selected either from Nature or from the experiences of the life of man ; being pragmatic they are all indispensable for man. It is a mistake to think that the development of nationalism is detrimental to the development of internationalism. Nationalism naturally grows into internationalism much as bonds of family life naturally grow into bonds of nationalism. It is the force of gradualism that works even in social processes.

In social life, the method by which a gain is acquired is more important than the gain itself. The preparation of the social mind and its eagerness for winning a new acquirement are the most important factors for the utilization of the advantages of a new social change. Impositions beget nothing but slavery.

The doctrine of a master class is as worthless as the doctrine of a master race. The seizing of political power by an armed revolution may be the worst form of dictatorship imposed upon an unwilling people ; it is then, a camouflaged method of introducing slavery into human communities. And if all political parties try to grab governmental powers only through armed conflicts they will soon bring the condition of their country to that of a savagely belligerent community.

One of the most complex problems of the modern state is the problem of labour. Of the three different factors of industrial concerns, the capital, the labour and the manufactured commodity, the first was once considered to be essentially important ; then grew the agitation for considering the second to be of supreme importance. The manufactured commodity in reality, should be taken as the most valuable factor from the point of view of social considerations. The concern of the state should, therefore, be the effective production of commodities. It is only through the develop-

ment of technical skill for the production of manufactured commodities that a nation can become affluent.

The importance of capitalists will decrease because the state will be able to procure capitals from other sources ; and the importance of labourers will also decrease because of the advent of various labour-saving devices and methods along with the advancement of Science and Technology. All these are inevitable ; and they have got to be accepted in the long run. It is the effective production of commodities that should be considered supremely important not only by the state but also by all its citizens.

Democratic system is the best form of Government for man ; it is the spirit of democracy that can ultimately build up the socialistic structure of the state through the process of evolution. There are many variants of socialism advocated by various parties. True socialism, however, can never be established by imposition either through violent revolutions or through military conquests. It is only social evolution that can frame its structure properly. The use of arms and revolts are not only unnecessary but also distinctly injurious. The establishment and perpetuation of social harmony in human communities should be effected through persuasion, and not through force. Persuasion is effective and reasonable ; force is crude and brutal. In the world of human relationship force and persuasion indicate the two forms of human behaviour that are basically employed for the establishment of a permanent social order.⁴ Of these the technique of persuasion, which can be employed only by advanced people, is superior to the other. The gradual growth of persuasive activities and agencies in the life of man marks the progress of social evolution in human communities. Plato suggested that the victory of persuasion over force brought about civilized conditions in man's society. The doctrine of Eduard Bernstein and the concept of Fabians insisting upon the importance and indispensability of the evolution of socialism are distinct advancements in the field of Sociology. But as the process of social evolution is always slow, desirable results can be secured only after long intervals. It is in connection with the idea of expediting the evolutionary process of socialism that this paper has something new to suggest. It suggests that by the establishment of the basic harmony of human societies and by the careful and conscious development of altruism in individuals the process of the evolution of socialism can be expedited to a great and measurable extent. It is only with the aid of these that the true form of healthy socialism can be solidly established in human societies.

Passive resistance in any of its forms, is a great social force. It is, however, neither moral nor immoral in itself ; it can be directed to work either for achieving justice or for destroying it. It is like the nuclear energy

⁴ Adventures of Ideas—A. N. Whitehead ; Page 90.

which can be utilized for human welfare as well as for human destruction. Only the elevated mind of man can utilize both passive resistance and nuclear energy properly. Without an adequate development of altruism in man both of them will continue to be dangerous weapons in his life for they may be directed against his own security and well-being.

It is through the development of altruism that man can achieve the development of his love for law and morality in his society. Man's love for the rule of law is an indication of his love for man and his society. And his inclination to defy useful laws is an expression of his hideous selfishness.

Democracy is a way of living. It indicates a distinctive way of feeling for others and as such it is a valuable trait in human society. Democracy is necessary even for socialistic states. The form of democracy which tends to develop the spirit of cooperation for working with fellow beings is the form which is essential for the progressive integration of man. It is this pattern of democracy which may be called *Cooperative Democracy* that can build up the tone of human dignity. Democracy becomes mechanical when it is not motivated by the spirit of altruism ; the directive form of democracy is really altruism. The chief defect of this mechanical democracy is that it is erroneously equated even with false and undesirable freedom. Freedom encourages growth ; it is necessary for the liberation of human energies. But that does not mean that it should be granted even to those who are engaged in wrong activities. There are people in every society, who are basically inclined to anti-social, selfish and nefarious activities. Should true democracy give these people the freedom to continue with their pursuits ? Can real democracy allow the application of the policy of *laissez-faire* here ?

The idea that democracy always insists upon freedom and wants to do away with punishment is erroneous. Both freedom and punishment are necessary for the healthy growth of the social life of man. Punishment is indispensable for it is one of the most effective contrivances for the control of society where heterogeneous people live together. Only strong minds can rule nations. Stern measures may be necessary for inflicting punishment upon wrong-doers ; but the chief aim of such punishment should always be to effect rectifications. An attitude of passive love for all is generally detrimental to the interest of the majority of the people of a country because a small number of misguided persons may disturb a whole community of citizens.

Democracy bereft of altruism is not true democracy ; at most it can become a tame social habit followed superstitiously as a fashionable trait ; but it can never serve the purpose for which real democracy is to be prized. It is this pseudo-democracy which is responsible for the development of various forms of conflicts and disorders in many countries where democracy is known to exist. Pseudo-democracy has naively developed a

false sense of pride in the "mass-man" who considers himself unusually superior and hates anyone unlike his own self. The mass-man has a strong tendency to develop mediocrity in the community.⁵

The prevalence of extreme forms of democracy and the absence of altruistic and benevolent leaders in the field of politics are responsible for all social and political conflicts in different parts of the world today.

III

The family, according to Santayana, is one of the masterpieces of Nature. The idea is extremely profound because it insinuates the biological importance of the family for the proper development of the individual. In a similar way it can be suggested that the state is one of the masterpieces of the creative mind of social man. It is a masterpiece because it is the most powerful and most important of all the institutions of man. It is powerful because, directly or indirectly it can control all other institutions of man and can therefore guide him properly in his path of progress ; it is important because, being basically an educating agency it can with the aid of its developing processes, impart to man the proper type of education necessary for moulding his life.

Astute thinkers, profound philosophers and visionary sages throughout the ages, down from the earliest times have been suggesting ideas and instructions for the welfare of man but few of these have been adopted in practice. Most of these ideas and suggestions are the sources of thoughts for theoretical discussions only in the fields of Religion and Philosophy. Sociologists and Educationists in modern times, have also suggested ideas for the improvement of the various phases of the life of man. It is the state that can easily make the masses accept the most worthy of these suggestions with the aid of its regulations and can enrich the social conventions of its citizens. The state can furthermore, help the creation of such new ideals, values and beliefs of human communities as are valuable for the cultural development of the mind of man. Suggestions of ideas from Prophets and Philosophers, for effecting human welfare and happiness, are always available in human society ; they have been accumulated throughout the ages. But the practical utilization of these ideas for the life of common man can be made only by the state through its political leaders or statesmen. It is statesmen that can make such ideas eminently suitable for social adoption by blending them with emotional elements. Ideas charged with emotions easily become practical ideals in human life. Statesmen and political leaders should educate the masses through the examples of their own activities ; they should thus, be able to inspire them to lead disciplined and good lives.

⁵ Vide *The Revolt of the masses*—Jose Ortega & Grasset.

Human civilization had its birth in congregational places for social ceremonies and festivals of man. Under certain specific conditions it appeared in its simplest form, as an inspiration in concentrated social gatherings. In its germinal form it was an inspiration for reshaping new patterns of the life and society of man. The Ghose-Durkheim theory of the origin of human civilization gives us a vivid picture of the condition under which man could start his civilization.⁶

The three essential factors which conspired to form and elaborate human civilization were the manifestations of the groupmind, moving emotions and promising ideals. The process by which civilization could make its appearance, is now definitely known to be a distinct social process which gives man a sort of spiritual experience the residue of which goes to live in his super-ego. It has been called the process of Revolutionary Social Elevation. A knowledge of the process is not only useful for the perpetuation of civilization but also for the renovation of weary social groups.⁷

It is the sense of participation in the activities for common good that develops the mental vigour of social man. The feeling of the masses that they too are not alien to governmental affairs and organizations but are in fact responsible for the running of the state makes them mentally free ; it liberates them from the idea of political and social impositions. Man reacts violently against bondages and impositions ; he wants to be free because he wants to be happy. The state after all, is a creative society ; it can create a world of entities that are indispensable for the progressive development of human welfare and happiness. To work for the freedom, security and happiness of all citizens should be the fundamental aim of every good Government. And to secure order and purpose in individual life should be the goal of man for the achievement of his true fulfilment and real happiness. Here also the most effective aid and guidance can come only from a wise Government.

Leisures in the life of man open out suitable conditions for the rise of individual activities and contemplative attitudes that are indispensable for the development of the power to solve fundamental problems of life. Leisures furthermore, are valuable periods in human life for stimulating the growth of ideals, aspirations and purposes in the life of man. Most of the contents of man's civilization originated during his leisures ; and most of the visionary and profound thoughts and concepts of man grew out of his contemplations. To be able to contemplate is to be able to achieve creative and spiritual developments of man.

⁶ Vide the origin and the elaboration of human civilization—M. C. Ghose ; The Bulletin of the Ramkrishna Mission Institute of Culture, March, 1970.

⁷ Vide Civilization and the fulfilment of human life—M. C. Ghose ;—The Calcutta Review, October, 1966.

It is the state that can build up the right type of social harmony by developing the spirit of altruism in the lives of its citizens. The state which ideally should be a natural society is the most potential agent for effecting the creative reconstruction of the life of man.⁸ And it is true that upon the ideals, objectives and activities of the state depends the future of man and his civilization.

The state is a moral entity ; it can become ideal only when it is virtually a moral institution. It is the ethical sense of life that gives vigour to individuals as well as to their institutions. Einstein rightly suggests that there is no salvation for man without the development of his ethical culture.⁹ The state can function properly and can develop the prosperity of its citizens only by insisting upon the practice of justice in all its different phases. The spirit of justice is a great coordinating agent in the social life of man ; it is therefore of immense help for the establishment of social harmony.

The establishment of international peace and the building up of right forms of Governments are the two most important affairs in the life of civilized man. To be careless regarding these is to be willing to invite his utmost unhappiness and ultimate destruction. The creative mind of man will certainly continue to secure the possession of various entities, both material and mental, which can enrich human life ; but unless man becomes wise to establish international peace and a scientific form of his national Government all his acquisitions will be in vain. It is the development of the spirit of altruism in man that can secure the establishment of all these and effect the creation of such conditions as can bring about his security, freedom and happiness. Human civilization has a future only if man can adequately develop altruism along with the development of his life. It is true that altruism is the soul of all forces and activities that build up social harmony for achieving true progress of man.

Politics undoubtedly, represents the most significant social activities of man ; upon it depends the entire future of the human race. Nothing therefore, is more valuable and more important to a nation than its political consciousness and vigilance. Culture, civilization, prosperity, affluence and even wisdom, of a group of people are all in vain if the State cannot protect the people who possess them. All of them may be devastated by the brutal forces of even savage and inferior people. Ancient Greeks who were proud of their civilization took unusually keen interest in politics and fought stoutly and at the same time uncompromisingly, against their enemies and invaders ; they could thus preserve their freedom and integrity for a long period. But ancient Hindus who had developed a mature form

⁸ The creative Reconstruction of Man—M. C. Ghose ;—The Calcutta Review ; September, 1965.

⁹ My views—(Albert Einstein), Page 33.

of human civilization by depending upon the elegance of altruism and the profoundness of visionary thoughts of man, were extremely unmindful of the imparativeness of political alertness ; Indian people as a result, had to bear a great deal of suffering throughout the ages. Although essentially a political body the state in reality, is a coordinated unit of all the basic organizations of the society of man.

Material development only is not enough for a nation ; there must also be adequate mental and other forms of developments. Learning is not all a civilization needs for its perpetuation ; elements of adventure must be there for sustaining its continuity.¹⁰ The life of a nation or a tribe is akin to that of an individual. There are ages of weariness and hopefulness in the life of a nation much as there are periods of depression and cheerfulness in the life of an individual. When a nation becomes weary and exhausted under the impact of certain conditions and influences it is the state that can, with the aid of the creative process of Revolutionary Social Elevation revitalize the nation and make it normal and cheerful again.¹¹ The state can not only propel a nation to a glorious condition, but can also cure a moribund nation and bring it back to its healthy life.

The state certainly is responsible for the development of human happiness which is the ultimate goal of the life of man. But as without the basic condition of social harmony the state can never function properly for securing its ideal objectives, it should be the primary task of States to foster social harmony. It is through the development of the trait of altruism that the most solid foundation for harmony can be laid in human society. It is the spirit of altruism that can build up the solidarity and integration of man. Marcus Aurelius anticipated the modern concept of the moral unity of man nearly two thousand years ago.

It is definite that the only sure method by which the eradication of all conflicts from human society can be effected is by the development of altruism in man along with the establishment of social harmony.

The comprehension of the roles of social harmony and altruism in human society and the recognition of the importance of the intrinsic capacity of the State for effecting creative changes in the life of man will surely develop the conviction that man after all, can become the true architect of his destiny. It is the development of this conviction that is supremely useful in the life of man today.

Modern man should therefore, have a visionary concept of the State ; it is the State which can, if properly guided, effect the creative destiny of man. The basic function of Government is not to govern but to educate

¹⁰ Adventures of Ideas—A. N. Whitehead ; Pages 257, 278 and 294.

¹¹ The Creative Reconstruction of Man—M. C. Ghose ; The Calcutta Review ; September, 1965.

its citizens so that they may develop their fown welfare and happiness. The Government that governs least is the best Government. Who then, can run modern Governments ideally? There is hope for mankind only if selfless, wise and benevolent men with social and educational visions and motivated by the spirits of service and dedication, can become rulers and leaders of States.

ON THE LETTER KS OR X

HARENDRACHANDRA PAUL

Whereas all other letters are simple, our "X" is the only letter as a conjunct in the Alphabet. It is combined of two letters *k* and *s*, equivalent to the Sanskrit letter "Kṣ". In English it is called *eks*, whereas in Sanskrit it is pronounced *kṣa*. As a symbol it denotes an unknown quantity; but numerically it signifies the number *ten*, Dutch *tien*, Latin *decem*, Greek *deka*, Sanskrit *daśan*, Bengali *daś*, Hindi *das*, Gipsy *desh*, Marāṭhi *dahā*, Persian *dah*, Sindhi *ḍah*, French *dix*, Spanish *diez* and German *zehn*. Really in all these words the conjunct consonant has only been vocalised with the help of different vowels.

In fact, the vowels are sounds that are self-expressed (or *swara*), and the consonants are their attributives (*vyañjana*) that cannot be expressed without the help of vowels. And these *vyañjana varṇas* or qualitative letters are only expressed in divergent ways depending on those basic sounds that are self-expressive. In another sense, the Self (or *Swah*), though self-expressed, is apparently expressing itself so vividly and also distinctly through the consonants. These *swara* and *vyañjana* letters together are called the *Akṣa-ra* (or Alphabet) in the different Aryan languages.

Now, the word *Alphabet* is from Greek *Alpha* and *Beta*, equivalent to the first two letters—*A* and *B* (of English) that together with other letters make up the rudiments of any language. But the expression *A-kṣa-ra* is more significant—*A* representing the vowels, and *Kṣ* the consonants—that complete the set of expressive sounds (or *varṇamālā*) of the Sanskrit language. The conjunct *Kṣ* is even so significant: When this conjunct is to be expressed, or rather objectified, it is got by the sounds *kaṁ* and *ṣaṁ* standing respectively for the surds and sonants or the plosives and spirants. And these *kaṁ* and *ṣaṁ* may fitly be compared with *con* + *son*, with the case-ending *-ant*, that is, the consonants.

Spiritually signified, *A* representing the vowels (or *Swara*) and *Kṣ* the consonants are, as if, the Spirit and Matter, or the One and Many combined together through the expression *akṣara*. Matter, or rather the spatio-temporal world, has no existence of its own without the Spirit, the One (expressive Self) behind it. Really the One is the Sanskrit *Aum*. This idea has finely been expressed by the symbol IX. The figure 9 (nine) is represented in Skt. by *navan*, lit. the New,—the One Spirit who has been followed by X (ten), symbolic for time and space. If the symbol X represents ten, twice X, i. e. XX is twenty, and thrice X thirty. Twenty (Dutch *twintig*, Danish *tyve*, Swedish *tjugo*, German *zwanzig*) and thirty (Du. *dertig*, Dan. *trediv*e, Swe. *tretio*, Ger. *dreissig*) are represented in

Skt. by *viṃśa-ti* and *triṃśa-t*, that are really shortened from *dviṃśa-nti* (of Lat. *vigniti*) and *triṃśa-nti*.

Kṣ-a (or rather *kṣa-ra*) also really means what flows (and is thus lost). Probably *kṣara* has connection with the word *zero*. This *zero* has its original adjective sense in *cypher* meaning empty (from Arabic *ṣifr*). But this word as a symbol has thus been philosophized by Karl Jaspers in his *Truth and Symbol*: "The highest stage would be the penetration of objectivity in such a way that everything is a metaphor (*cypher*), nothing is without language, nothing is left to mere existence as the remains, as it were, of a non-being abandoned by God". Again, *kṣ-ana* is time or temporality, *kṣ-iti* space or spatiality; and *kṣa-tri-ya* is symbolic for the third developed stage in the material world of that soul aspiring after the fourth harmonious state (*Tūriya*) in the Self, or with *kṣatra* (Avesta *xšathra*, Persian *shahr*, a city: cf. *satra-p*, Greek *satra-pes*) meaning power, it may mean "one possessing power".

It is most interesting to describe this conjunct that has so influenced the whole set of the consonants in the different Aryan languages. Even in the Vedic (or Old Aryan) language we find that the conjunct *Kṣ*—the guttural *k* combined with the cerebral *ṣ*—has been modified to a simple palatal letter *c* or *ś*: *vac* (speak) from its future *vak-ṣyati*; and *dṛś* (see) from its aorist *adṛk-ṣata*. It turned into a simple cerebral in the word *ṣaṣ*, Latin *sex* (from original **sakṣ*), which again turned to *ṣaṭ* (six). An interesting example of its various modifications is found in the word "*Pox*" (from **pakṣ*) which has turned into so many forms in the different Indo-European languages. The root *pac* (to cook) is surely originated from **pakṣ* when forms like *pakṣyati* and *apākṣit* are available in Sanskrit. Their equivalents in Pali are respectively *pacissati* and *apaci*. The future *pakṣyati* is turned *pacati* in Prakrit. Again, both *pak* and *pac* are used in different meanings in Sanskrit. Skt. *pak-va* means ripe; but the roots *pak-*, *pāk-*, *pakā-*, *pākā-*, or *pac-*, *pāc-* have variety of meanings in the different Aryan languages. *Pazh-mān* (from **pakṣa-manta*) in Persian means withered. If *pizhish-kī* in Persian is the art of healing or physic (Greek *physike*), it appears to be related with the Skt. word *pāk-āśaya* (abdomen). As *pāk* has the sense of healing (physic) in English, so is its meaning of *pac* connected with words like *phythisis* and *sypphilis*, the progressive wasting diseases. The word *pox*, apparently a plural of *pock-s*, is originally singular (Old English *poc*, Greek *pocke*) meaning eruptive spots (from the consequent decomposition within).

Dr. Ghatage in his Introduction to Ardha-Magadhi says that the sound group *kṣ* represents three sounds in Avesta, viz. (*gh*)-*z*, *ś* and *x-ś* (here "x" is pronounced like the *ch* in *chiusmus*, or the guttural *h* like (*k*)-*h* of Arabic) which are respectively represented in the Middle Aryan by *jh*, *cch*, and *kkh*: *jharai* from *kṣarati* (flows), *acchi* from *akṣi* (eye) and *dakkhiṇa* from *dakṣiṇa* (south). In few cases this *kkh* is further changed

first to *kh* and then to a simple *h*, as *dāhiṇa* from *dakhiṇa* or *dakkhiṇa*. But initially this group sound of the Middle Aryan is also changed into a simple one : thus *khana* (moment) and *chana* (festival) from *kṣana*. In cases where this *kṣ* is added with another consonant, the first mute is generally dropped : thus *Lachman* from *Lakṣmaṇa*. But the double conjunct *kṣ* with *n* (not available even in the Vedic language) is turned into *jñ* in Skt. Compare Avesta *xšnā*, Greek *gno*, Skt. *jñā*, Persian *shanā-s* from *shanākhtan* (to know), Hindi *gyā* and Bengali *ggā* (though written *jñā*. In some cases *kṣ* of Skt. is changed into *sk* in Prakrit : thus *peskadi* from *pre-kṣate*. This inversion of *kṣ* to *sk* and then to *sk* is found in many other Prakrit words, specially in the Magadhi, such as *laskase* from *rakṣasa* and *ḥaske* from *dakṣa*. In Bengali (descended from the Magadhi Prakrit) we find the same process : whereas in Hindi the English word "box" is turned *bakas*, the Bengalees will say it *bākṣa*.

The Palatal series in Sanskrit is only a later development being generated by the corruption of the original gutturals through the influence of the sibilants. But once they have formed a series in Sanskrit, they get a distinct palatal pronunciation to which some tongue is not really accustomed. As the Germans in Europe, so in India the Marāṭhis and the people of East Bengal cannot distinctly pronounce these sounds. As the earlier languages of the Aryan, such as old Vedic, Greek and Latin, had not these sounds, so even the Semitic families knew no palatals. Even Hebrew has got no further than *T's* (adde). But later on through the influence of the three sibilants, *ś*, *ṣ*, and *s*, there grew up the palatal sounds. When *k* joins with *ś*, it is often assimilated to a natural *c* ; but combined with the cerebral or dental *s*, the guttural sound may not always be assimilated as a pure palatal, for which reason we hear the sounds of *c*, *ch*, and *j* like *ts*, *s* and *z*. These are consequently termed "Unassimilated Palatals" by John Beames in his "A comparative grammar of the modern Aryan languages of India". As through the influence of the cerebral *ṣ* the original *k* has been turned to *ṣ* and then to *ṭ* (in *ṣaṭ* from *ṣaṣ* from *sakṣ*, six), so in the modern Aryan languages we find the *k* turned into *t* through the influence of the dental *s* in *vāt* from *vākts* (though *c* in *vāc* is assimilated to a pure palatal). Moreover, as in English, so also in many modern Aryan languages, there is only one (dental) *s* ; and for this there is much reason to suppose that many original group sounds of *kṣ* turned into dental *t* (or *d*).

Hindi and Panjabi have kept only the dental *s*, and abandoned the palatal *ś* and cerebral *ṣ*. As Panjabi is again specially averse to all sibilant sounds, it has adopted in their stead the sound *h*. And consequently both in Hindi and in Panjabi we find that *ṣ* has long been appropriated to *kh* : this *kh* sound is surely through the influence of the original guttural in the conjunct *kṣ*. But the Eastern dialect of Bengali and the *Konkani* in Marāṭhi prefer *sh* sound instead of *s* ; and as the dental *s* has the modern tendency

to be changed into *h*, we often find that all original *kṣ* sounds have turned to *kḥh* (or *kḥ*) in these languages.

A consonant, as we well know, is a letter agreeing in sound with the vowels prevailing over it. And we have already remarked that the palatal series in the consonant is a later development in Sanskrit ; so also we find that many ancient languages are deprived of the cerebral vowel *ṛ*. And again this cerebral sound has been much corrupted in the later Aryan languages. As such any consonant influenced by this cerebral vowel in Sanskrit has been automatically changed to a different pronunciation in the other languages. The root *ḍṛś* is an important word on this point. It was surely something like *darṣ* or rather *darkṣ*, for traces of this form survive in some tenses of the verb, such as *adārḥṣam* (*adrākṣam*), *drakṣyate* and *didṛkṣate*. Accordingly we find the Prakrit form *dekkh*, from which comes out Hindi *dekh-nā* (to see) ; and such other forms in the different modern Aryan languages. Another form from the same root is Prakrit *dis* or *dis* ; Hindi *dis-nā* and Oriyā *disibā* (to be in sight) ; or Bengali *dis-ā* (search or aim) and *dik* (direction). The *Tatsama* substantive *darśan* in all the modern Aryan languages, and its simple verb *darśite* or its causal *darśāite* in Bengali are also from the same root *darṣ* (or *darś*). From Sanskrit *ḍṛṣṭi* (from *darṣ-ti* or *ḍṛś-ti*) we also find the forms like Prakrit *diṭṭhi* and Hindi *diṭhi* or *diṭh* (sight) in which any connection from the original conjunct *kṣ* appears to be missing. Gujarati uses the same root adverbially as *diṭ* or *diṭh* meaning 'per head'.

The conjunct of *k* with *ṣ* (or *s*) has influenced all the organic sounds in the consonant from the guttural to the dental, but it is the palatal set which is most influenced by this conjunct. It is also to be noted that no labial consonant is ever influenced by this conjunct. Accordingly, whenever we find a word formed with a palatal plosive we may have reasonable doubt of it being connected originally with our conjunct. Beames has given instances of some such words which are most interesting to envisage their meanings in different connotations.

Let us take one such word "*kṣi*" (to disappear) with its two ancient causals *kṣip* and *chāpay* (cf. Eng. *shy*, Dutch *schuw* and Greek *scheu*) meaning to throw, hide :

Hindi *chipnā*, causal *chīpnā* (to hide) ; with the cognate sense of covering we also find *chipki* (a lizard that hides himself in the crevices of walls), *chappar* (a thatched roof), and Bengali *chāoni* (covering) and *chāpar-khāt* (a bedstead with curtains).

With the causal *kṣāpay* (or *chāpay*), meaning thereby to strike out, press, stamp, we also find many other words in the modern Aryan languages : *Chāp* (stamp or seal), *chāpā*, *chāpnā* ; and *chāp* (a splash, or the sound made by an object striking the water, and its derivative *chāpākā*).

By rejection of the aspirate we even find the Skt. *cāpay*, causal of *ci* (*kṣi* > *ci* ; cf. also Persian *ci-dan* and cl. skt. *cayana* from *ci-ana*), to

heap, collect,—which forms words having variety of meanings that are connected in one way or other with the original sense of the root : *cāp* (a bow), *cāpḍā* (a cake of cow-dung) ; *cānp* (the lock of a gun) and *cimṭā* (tongs). On the same line we find also different words beginning with a cerebral *ṭ* that have the original sense of pressing, striking out : *ṭip* (pressing, a note of hand or bill : from *kṣip* > *chip* > *cip* > *ṭip*) ; Hindi *ṭappā* (from *kṣapay* > *chapay* > *cāpay* > *ṭap*—) or *ṭappāl* (*ṭappā* + *ālay*) meaning post-office or stamping house ; and *ṭepi* (a cork, cf. Bengali *chipi* or *chippi*).

According to the defect in speaking called a lisp which makes people unable to pronounce specially the sibilants and palatals, we shall find here how our conjunct is variously taken in the different Aryan languages : Skt. *kṣu* (sugar cane) > Prakrit *ucchū* > Hindi *ikh*, *ūkh* ; Bengali—west. *ākḥ*, *āku*, and eastern *uk*, *ūk* ; Oriyā *ākhu* ; and Marāṭhi *ūs*. Skt. *makṣikā* (fly) > Pr. *macchiā* > Hindi *mākhi* ; Panjabi *makkhī* ; Sindhi *makhī* ; Gujarati *mākh* ; Beng. *māchi*, *māsi* (pron. in E. dialect) ; Marāṭhi *makhī*, *māsi* ; Kashmiri *mach* ; and Persian *makas* or *magas* (from Skt. *makṣaka*, dim. of *makṣa* ; cf. *mosqui-to* and Beng. *maśā*).

But the root *akṣ* (to appear) is the most significant specially for the reason that from it is derived the substantive verb of all the different modern Aryan languages (with their dialects) that are descended from the Magadhi Prakrit. From *akṣ* come out the two forms *as* (cf. Eng. *is*) and *acch* of which the first dies out with the classical Sanskrit. From the second is derived the Prakrit verb *acch-ati* (he appears, exists). Another root for the substantive verb is *bhu* (cf. Eng. *be*) wherefrom is derived the modern Aryan form *ho*—. Modern Eastern languages have usually taken the former and the Western Aryan the latter. In some cases both the forms are used ; and in some other the two (or rather three) have been amalgamated :

Of the Eastern languages, Maithili uses (for *acch-ati*, he is) *acchi*, *chai* ; Oriyā *achai*, *achi*, *ache* ; and Bengali *āche* (*āse* in Eastern dialects, and *āce* in Rājabanṅsī).

Naipali has *cha* for this verb, and Marāṭhi *ase* (from *acch*—) ; but in Gipsy we find the form as *isī*.

Hindi or Hindustani has generally avoided this form; yet the Bangari dialect uses *sai*, *se* and Panjabi (*hai*-) *su*. Old Guj. has *chai* for this verb, which is turned to *che* in modern Gujarati; but its Khandeśi dialect uses the form *še* (from the root *as*-).

It is also interesting to note that the Iranian branch in India has also been influenced by this ancient root. In modern Persian there are three forms for the verb 'to be' : *as-t* or *has-t*, (he) is (from the root *as*-) ; *shū-dan* (to go or to be) ; and *bū-dan* (from the root *bhu*-). The Iranian Pashtu has the root verb *āos* (for *as*-) and *shw*- (for Prakrit *acch*-), whose Present tense is *shī*, equivalent to *shawad* in modern Persian. In Baloci we have the forms *ast*, *hast*, or *asti* (from the root *as*-). But the Sarikoli dialect

of Ghalca languages in the Iranian branch uses the form *sau-d* (for Persian *shawad*). The same form in the Ormurī language is turned into *sa*, (he) is, from the infinitive *syok* (Persian *shūdan*).

After discussing the issue of all the letters in Sanskrit connected with the symbolic x, I like to conclude that the ineffable Absolute is really standing for x (*e-ks*) whose original meaning after descending a step further stood for the *Saguṇa* and the *nirguṇa* (or the *Kṣara* and the *akṣara*) aspects of the *Brahman*—the only expression of the indescribable self present in the existence and non-existence. And this has so finely been described by the great seer Sri Aurobindo in his "The Life Divine" (p. 427, Indian Literary Society, U. S. A., 1965) : "The Absolute is the ineffable X overtopping and underlying and immanent and essential in all that we can call existence or non-existence".

A TWELVE-MONTH AND A DAY

SAMUEL S. BICKFORD, JR.

The traditional English ballad at times has been known to achieve far more than one would expect from a mere song. Even singers who owe no particular allegiance to English culture have employed the form and been struck by the sincerity of its expression and the pathos of its tone. Occasionally it seems that a ballad will express all that a human being can intuit about his life—his joys and ultimate sorrows.

One such ballad is "The Unquiet Grave" (Child No. 78), rendered recently by Joan Baez :

• Cold blows the wind to my true love,
And gently drops the rain.
• I've never had but one true love,
And in green-wood he lies slain.

I'll do as much for my true love
As any young girl may ;
I'll sit and mourn all on his grave
For a twelve-month and a day.

And when twelve months and a day were passed,
A ghost did rise and speak :
"Why sittest thou all on my grave
And will not let me sleep ?

Go fetch me water from a desert,
And blood from out of a stone ;
Go fetch me milk from a young girl's breast
That a young man never has known."

"How oft from yonder grave, Sweetheart,
Where we were wo'nt to walk,
The fairest flower that e'er I saw
Has withered to a stalk.

The stalk is withered and dead, Sweetheart ;
The flower will never return.
And since I've lost my own true love,
What can I do but yearn ?"

Indeed in many of the situations of life, including the imposition of life itself, what can one do more than grieve or yearn ? And when in the last stanza the maiden asks the spirit the all-important question of when they will be reunited, she receives the cryptic and highly equivocal reply :

"When the autumn leaves that fall from the trees
Are green and spring up again."

The ballad ends there and presumably the maid is left to take what satisfaction she can from that.

In speaking thus mysteriously is the ghost trying to deceive or trifle with her? Has the loss of mortal state so bereft him of feeling that he is now indifferent to his earthly love? Or is it rather that the human troubadour, wise as he is, is not able to say what the truth is in this matter, and therefore he can only let the ghost answer in paradox under the guise that it is not given to mortals to know the answer to this question nor is it given to ghosts to tell.

What does lie beyond the grave? When will we meet again? Man does not know whether we will, much less when. The English balladier realized that, of course, but he allowed the question to go as it was and sought to put the most sympathetic possible design on it: we will meet again in the same way that nature rejuvenates itself. When that will be, and whether there will be provision for our individual selves aside from the continuation of the life-process (Is it the actual leaves that fall to the ground and wither, or new ones replacing them on the tree, that will become green again?), we have no way of knowing. Until the time comes for each creature to learn for himself, there is nothing we can do but yearn.

This is an example of a ballad bringing the listener to a sense of pathos by causing him to ponder the most solemn issues of life. It suggests to us that sorrow and sincerity are near-allied, and that bereavement—of us all as well as the person left behind—is the probable source of both. It may even hold the riddle of what it is to be human.

'BENEVOLENT CRUSADE' TO SUPPRESS INFANTICIDES IN INDIA : AN OBSERVATION

KANTI PAKRASI

In 1789 the custom of killing female offsprings immediately after birth in 'a race of Hindūs' called *Rajkoomar Rajput* was for the first time detected by Jonathon Duncan, the British Resident at Benaras. No time was necessarily lost by the East India Company's Government to apply appropriate interpositions in rooting out quick such a painful custom which 'had long subsisted, and did actually then very generally prevail'¹ in the area in question. This grim fact of consistent but deliberate elimination of female infants appeared as but one additional facet of the universal custom of female infanticide. Malthus noted duly this evidence from India while he observed² the universality in the practice of killing girl babies in human societies. The *Rajkoomars* together with *Rajebunses* were forced by the British Resident to desist from female infanticides under the severe penalty of heavy exactions. Administrative measures were promptly instituted to compel these infanticide-practising Rajputs to sign an *engagement* condemning the social practice which was deemed 'abhorrent to all principles and natural feelings'. Authority and power of the East India Company's Government made these Rajput Indians to see reasons and not arguments in critical hours. Duncan paved, thus, the path of a movement for suppression of an inhuman custom in India. This movement led obviously to serious interferences with an age-old domestic custom of a native group of the land. Official but determined opposition to an age-old practice was certainly not imputed with any sense of impropriety since the British Power was then animating 'to throw down its roots in the field of education and culture' of this country possessing 'extraordinary variety of peoples, creeds and manners'.

Further interferences with such 'horrible' usage of the Indians concerned were exposed in 1800. This time the venue was Kathiawar (Gujarat) and Cutch in Western India. Initiative was released again by the same Duncan as the Governor of Bombay, after attending the information given by the Nawab of Surat and a daughter of Gaekwar prince Fattah Singh of Gujarat.³ It is easy to anticipate the effect of the melancholy disclosures on the common practice of killing female infants among the Jhareja Rajputs of Cutch and Kathiawar on Duncan and his Government. Depending upon his recent experiences of anti-infanticide adventures and interpositions in Benaras area Duncan was entrusted by the British Authority to meet the alleged criminal habits of the Jharejas. As a matter of fact, the East

India Company's Government made no delay to command what has been described by a British historian as 'benevolent crusade' to suppress the perpetrators of infanticides in Kathiawar and its surrounding localities. Duncan obliged his superior officers at once by appointing a military officer Colonel Alexander Walker by name, who as the British Resident at Baroda, was asked to institute a full enquiry into the horrid habits of the Rajputs alluded to possess high status in the Hindu society. In 1805 the military leader of the said 'benevolent crusade' informed his Government that the chieftains 'families of Dherol and Nawanuggur districts of Kathiawar were for long 'distinguished by the no less extraordinary than barbarous practice of putting their female children to death in their infancy'.⁴

For the greater cause of humanity the East India Company's Government in India should in general have obvious feelings to tackle squarely the infamous practice of female infanticide as early as possible. But, that female infanticide happened to be a *universal practice* was definitely not unknown to them and especially when this practice was in vogue right in England in Neolithic and subsequent periods.⁵ Incidentally, we refer to Kaye who observed long ago that infanticide was generally viewed as a *crime* in European circles of India, though in some parts of India it was for many generations a *custom*. In his opinion infanticide in England was peculiar to the lower orders of the society and precisely speaking, 'in England it is the activity of degradation, in India the activity of pride'.⁶ Without dwelling further on this point we only notice that 'to Infanticide belongs the fell and the fatal pre-eminence of ubiquity as to time and place, and rank and condition'.⁷ Under the circumstances, one feels inclined to look askance at the exigency of some infernal actions through the medium of 'benevolent crusade' against infanticide-practising natives of the country. These natives were suffering humiliation no doubt to resist growing power of the Britishers and they failed unfortunately to muster strong to match the East India Company's stronger garrisons and ammunitions.

Some questions crop up in this context: What was really the impelling motive to enact promptly such crusade under military forces against those Indians whose ancestors had their own reasons to sanction the practice of killing new-born females from time immemorial in their societies? Was it not but natural that their descendants were destined by the usages of their society to continue what their forefathers did? Should any coercive power be the dispenser of the social values which remained interwoven with the fixed custom of female infanticide of the given Rajputs or other caste groups of India? Should the proposition about persistent of cultural traits in aligning the networks of social relation in any group be negated as mere a quibble?

At the turn of the nineteenth century the Jhareja Rajputs of Western India earned a bad name as child murderer and yet this aspersion was made not exclusively with any unbiased mind. One of their many customs of

long standing being divorced fully from the contemporary societal context, was vilified as a criminal practice by the then British Administrators who had yet to learn sufficiently the human feelings and social doings of the natives of a 'backward and alien civilization'. Development of the socio-psychological behaviour encouraging deliberate elimination of newborn females among the Rajput Indians concerned owed, of course, no accidental origin or no perverted descent. The very *social structure* of the 'accused' people generated, in fact, this necessary evil to counterbalance many other social malaises. It is no exaggeration to state that proper evaluation of the *social structure* of the people in question would have very likely been the correct measure in diagnosing the root cause of this painful habit. In doing so Duncan and his Government could discover by degrees that the custom of killing of girls at birth could never be viewed as a libel on Rajput nature. Pertinent and explanatory observations on *why* of female infanticide had already been given admirably by Risley.⁵ But, Duncan and Risley were unfortunately separated by almost a century in India to exchange their wisdom and foresights ! Nevertheless, we may profit from the scholarly writings of the noted British historian, John Clark Marshman (1867) to understand the essentials of the social structure governing matrimonial alliances of the Rajputs in question. The following excerpt shall highlight why the 'crime' of female infanticide had to be committed by the Rajputs of India.

"Throughout a territory 700 miles in extent, stretching from Cutch to Benaras, two-thirds of the female offsprings of the tribes (Rajputs) were systematically put to death. These murders were committed generally under the directions of the father, either by starvation or by the administration of drugs, in some cases the mother became the murderer of her own offspring by rubbing her nipple with opium, which speedily extinguished infant life. There was no evidence to show that the custom had a religious origin, *it was traced exclusively to the pride of caste*. To maintain the honour of his family connections was the one paramount object of the haughty Rajpoot, but owing to the manifold and complicated *gradations of rank* within the tribe, and the limited number of families with whom a matrimonial alliance could be contracted *without dishonour*, it was difficult to obtain suitable matches, and for a girl to remain unmarried after she had reached the age of maturity, was regarded as an indelible disgrace. It was likewise considered indispensable that *weddings should be celebrated on a scale of magnificence fixed by prescriptive and inexorable usage*, and any attempt to abridge it was supposed to indicate the declension of the family. The expense of weddings arose chiefly from the exorbitant demands of the *bhats* and *churrans*, the bards and genealogists of the Rajput races, who exercised a more tyrannical influence in the tribe, than the priesthood. They employed themselves in composing ballads which celebrated the antiquity and renown of the family, and its fame throughout the tribe was

dependent on their eulogy. They kept the pedigrees and recorded the alliances of the family, which regulated its social position. Their presence was considered indispensable at every marriage festivity....To conciliate their good will, it was necessary to regale them with profusion, and to load them with gifts. If they were satisfied, their ballads traced the family up to the race of the Sun or the Moon; if otherwise, they revenged themselves by holding it up to the contempt of the country in ribald songs. To avert the disgrace to which the Rajpoot was exposed from these causes, he was prepared to submit to any sacrifice, and to incur any amount of debt;... But every difficulty arising from the risk of mesalliances, and from the extortion of the bards and genealogists was at once removed by extinguishing the life of his female off spring.'⁹ (Emphasis given: K. P.).

Such complex interdependence of various social requirements in any Rajput marriage had, indeed, grown up from *within* their own community life. They could not but to abide by the same even at the cost of some precious innocent lives in keeping social prestige, family pride, and personal honour unimpaired. Any infringement of these social requirements was bound to entail upon unrepairable loss in social standing and serious predicaments leading invariably to social ostracism. Walker noted in 1808 that 'pride, avarice, the cares of family, the disgrace that would attend the misconduct of their women, the difficulty of establishing them in life, and an apprehension of exposing their daughters to ill-treatment, were assigned invariably as the causes that induced these tribes to commit infanticide.' Contextually, it is not difficult to imagine that no Rajput of noble descent could dare to brook disgrace in going against the established rules of marriage-conduct of his society. The commissions of the 'crime' of female infanticide registered eventually neither any manifestation of 'innate love of cruelty' nor any 'radical destitution of the parental affection'. With the given restricted area of social choice for partners in marriage the Rajputs in general struggled hard to resolve two inescapable problems, namely, (i) 'the difficulty in procuring suitable matches for their daughters, were they allowed to grow up, coupled with the supposed disgrace of their remaining unmarried, and (ii) the difficulty of defraying the marriage expenses which immemorial usage had sanctioned'.¹⁰

Honourable solution of these basic problems could ensure in the long-run, no doubt, full obliteration of the cruel practice in question. But, practical realisation of such solution was never an easy proposition within and between the prevailing networks of social relations in the highly stratified society of the Rajputs. So long there was 'no reasonable prospect of obtaining suitable marriages for their daughters, or of defraying the customary nuptial expenses, there and then, must the life of the female infant be considered as forfeited'.¹¹ This was the actual situation which generated strong *forces of sentiments* to endear the evil necessity of killing of new-born girl babies among the native Indians concerned. To any foreigners who

would fail to appreciate this basic social context of female infanticide in India the acts of deliberate destruction of female infants just after birth would logically appear as some atrocious and odious crime. Contextually it is assumable that in advancing the said benevolent crusade the bureaucratic and military personnel of the East India Company's Government in India had, indeed, to suffer critically unprecedented conflicts and contradictions between their own socio-cultural values and ethical dispositions and those of the native Rajputs of the land. But, for the rule of *Pax britannica* the 'crime' of the infanticides of the natives, irrespective of its traditional and customary significance, must know no mercy. The act of pride as well as social duty of the Rajputs invited direct and inauspicious conflicts with the rising British Power in India. 'Benevolent crusade' was set in motion under the aegis of strong forces of Colonel Walker in the distracted parts of Kathiawar and Cutch of western India since 1805.

For the noble cause of the 'crusade' the Government of Bombay made all arrangements quickly to employ a host of military, police, and bureaucratic officers in different points of time between 1805 and 1855 in the land of the *Jharejas*, *Soomras*, and *Jetwas* who were the principal culprit-groups to the white rulers. Governor Duncan and his worthy co-adjutor Walker paved first the adventurous path of the crusade inside the less-known territory of some chivalrous and militant Indians living on the western coast of India. In the background of such enthusiastic but well-planned arrangement for attacking a monstrous but customary habit in Kathiawar and its surrounding areas the East India Company's Government had already achieved very overtly a significant solution of another administrative problem. One has to pay attention to this problem in order to comprehend better the significance of the move related to the 'benevolent crusade'. Earlier historical evidences that have been recorded profusely to show the hallmarks of expansion of British power and suzerainty in native India in the eighteenth or nineteenth century reveal at once some very interesting developments. These developments seem strongly to retain certain momentous 'link between the unique events'¹² of anti-infanticide 'crusade' and the East India Company's Government's ready concurrence to stand surety in tribute-transactions among some native States of Western India. Let us scan on the merit of relevant historical facts¹³ the objective situation of India of that period to bear out the nature of the said 'link'.

Gujarat, after its conquest by Akbar in 1572, was ruled by Viceroys from the court of Delhi, until the Marathas supplanted the imperial power. By 1760 the Marathas had firmly established their rule, but the following half-century was a time of little ease for the tributaries in Kathiawar (Gujarat), and petty wars were frequent. During the latter part of the eighteenth century, according to Mussalman and Maratha customs, the Gaekwar, partly for himself and partly for his overlord the Peshwas, sent yearly a revenue-collecting army (*mulk-giri*) to demand contributions from

the local chiefs of western and northern Gujarat. As this armed expedition caused much waste, confusion, and bloodshed, *the British Government agreed readily to associate itself* with the Gaekwar in recovering the Maratha tribute from the Kathiawar States.

In 1803 some of the weaker *talukdars* (landlords) applied to the British Resident at Baroda for protection, offering to cede their territories to the East India Company. They were then enjoying independence without any direct relation to their rulers, with the only exception of being bound to furnish annually necessary tributary-contributions. Around 1807 the forces of the Company and the Gaekwar of Baroda advanced finally inside Kathiawar, and constrained the local petty chiefs to enter into engagements promising regular payment of a fixed tribute to their overlords and internal peace and order within their jurisdictions. In return, they were secured from the menacing visitation of the *mulkgiri* forces which used to appear invariably at harvest time and in default of payment ravaged the crops and fired the villages. Internal strifes and risky resistances to the plundering forces and their supreme overlords were, thus, ended in 1807-08 by the official settlements effected with a strong hand by Colonel Alexander Walker himself. One significant feature of these settlements was that the tributes were fixed under the dictates of the East India Company's officers, and *the work of collection of tributes was also undertaken by the British Government*, which again acquired soon after the Peshwa's right in Kathiawar by the dint of the Satara proclamation of 1818. In 1820 the Gaekwar agreed to have his share collected and paid by the British Government. The East India Company emerged gradually, thus, as the protector of the Gaekwar and his revenue-districts in Kathiawar. Such crucial developments were certainly no mean gains to the British rulers who were then extremely anxious to get a firm foothold in Gujarat Peninsula, the land of their powerful and wealthy Rajput opponents.

From another source¹⁴ further historical developments of utmost importance in western India during the given time-phase are known. On the death of the brother of late Fattah Singh, the illustrious Chief (Rao) of Gaekwar, the country was at once distressed by awful struggles for the supreme power, as eleven sons of the last Chief demanded the throne of Gaekwar. Ananda Rao, the eldest, though imbecile, was acknowledged by the British Resident as the legitimate successor to the throne, and, having taken an able minister into his counsels, he applied to the Government of Bombay for aid against his angry brothers and rivals, and offered to enter into a subsidiary alliance. This golden opportunity came at the time when 'Lord Wellesley was intent on extending those political arrangements throughout India, as the most effectual mode of establishing British Supremacy, and the offer was cordially accepted. The subsidized force consisted of five battalions, and districts yielding between eleven and twelve lacs of rupees a year were assigned for their support.'

Capitalizing this significant 'subsidiary alliance' the East India Company's Government of Bombay consolidated the required imperialistic position and authority 'to throw down its roots' in that geographical tract of western India. Colonel Walker represented the rising British Power as the Resident at the Baroda court and he had no ostensible difficulty to assume the virtual control of administration of the area in his Government's behalf. Before this political development took place the maritime district of Kathiawar exploited every advantage of the local dissensions and fratricidal bickerings at the time of Ananda Rao to refuse the payment of the tributes to the legitimate overlords. Upshot was the fearful interpositions and advancements of British forces inside the distracted country in question to constrain the insurgents. Colonel Walker being the leader of the British forces, made no mistake in compelling 'the insurgents to pay nine lacs of tribute a-year'. His remarkable armed expedition was naturally credited highly by the East India Company. We should not forget that it was this Colonel Walker who was especially entrusted to steer the 'benevolent crusade' in suppressing the 'crime' of female infanticides on the soil of the country of these 'insurgents'. High-spirited and independent-natured Rajputs were the principal 'insurgents' of Kathiawar, whose sense of nationalism caused, indeed, much uneasiness, irritations, and vexations to the rising white rulers of the East India Company.

Under any circumstances, these 'insurgents' should not be allowed to offer frequent troubles to the British Government. They would have to be brought under some sort of subsidiary alliance in the very interest of the Company. Some tactful means other than open armed interventions became pressing to Governor Duncan to win the people in question. Suppression of an inhuman practice of killing new-born females was rightly selected by Duncan as a more effective means to achieve the end. Pride of the high-spirited Rajputs of Kathiawar stood grossly humiliated but for their sinister habits of female infanticides and Duncan placed himself in the superior strategic position to hit hard and straight on the weakest spot of the 'insurgents' by criticizing rabidly their infamous custom. 'Benevolent crusade' against female infanticides was directed logically to expose more and more the moral weakness of the valiant Rajputs and to push them more and more in defensive position. Eventually, such tactful measure was enormously paying to wrench final political supremacy over the martial race of Indian Rajputs.

To dwell more on the 'benevolent crusade' we note that in the initial phase of Walker's *operation-infanticide* due emphasis was laid upon the need of acquiring more trustworthy facts about the origin and continuation of the practice. The custom appeared to him limited to only the Jhareja Rajputs of Kathiawar and in September, 1805 he expressed this opinion that 'human attempt' of the Honourable the Governor in Council would not be successful to any great extent as the infanticide-practising people under

investigation 'are so far removed from British Government Authority'.¹⁵ But he regretted at the same time the loss of five to six hundred innocent female babies due to infanticide per annum amongst the Jharejas alone. That the practice was the product of 'an ancient and immemorial custom, confirmed by prejudice and family pride' was made quite clear by Penguel Singh, one of Walker's native functionaries. Penguel was engaged to prevail upon the 'lamentable practice' by influencing his own villagers, Jhareja Chieftains and Bhoomias of Kathiawar. But, Walker and his Government found no convincing ground to rely upon Penguel's observations on the social values attached to 'the ancient and immemorial custom of the Jhareja Rajputs. To them infanticide was a crime and as such this must be suppressed, if required, most ruthlessly. Walker admitted 'strenuous opposition' from the Jhareja people in his anti-infanticide operations, and yet with his authority and military forces at command he was largely successful in obtaining the renunciation¹⁶ of the painful practice from some of the noted perpetrators of the Jhareja society.

In the midst of his *operation-infanticide* in Kathiawar Colonel Walker had the occasions to learn some of the motives for killing female infants from the Jharejas themselves. These motives were recorded and communicated by him to his Government on 15 March, 1808 with this understanding perhaps that the motivational aspect of the custom would be given due cognizance by the white Administrators concerned. The motives stood exposed from their own statements explaining their 'crimes': (i) the Jhareja Chieftains pleaded in favour of the custom which 'deprived them of much care, vexation, and expense and which had been so long in existence that the heinousness of the crime was altogether lost sight of in its antiquity'; (ii) the custom might have originated in the 'desire of diminishing the cares and expense attending a numerous family'; and (iii) 'they also pleaded their aversion to relinquish a custom which they conceived to attach renown to their caste, and to distinguish it above all the other Rajputs', in Kathiawar at least. It appears clearly that in the East India Company's Government's definition of crime of child murder among the native Rajputs there was hardly any ground to weigh the propriety of the real or palpable motives which were dominant still to induce the propensity of the Jharejas for immediate elimination of new born females. Within the prevailing social structure of the Jharejas and the like Rajputs the significance of the said motives can rarely be interpreted by criminal codes of British judicature.

Without being sure of the fact if female infanticide owed its existence either to 'the wickedness or weakness of human nature' the British rulers moved enthusiastically to extirpate from the Peninsular Gujarat the 'barbarous' and long prevalent crime (and not custom) of infanticide as quickly as possible. Did their enthusiasm spring *solely* and *fully* from humanism? Did not the strong, indomitable spirit of nationalism and

almost unbreakable group-cohesion of the Rajputs as a whole pose a formidable hindrance against quick expansion of British Power in western and north-western India? Very prompt organisation and commissioning of a 'benevolent crusade' against infanticide-practising but high-spirited Rajputs in question is understandable as an expected measure to highlight British law and order, but the Company's extraordinary interests and risky involvements in the life and living of the Rajput inhabitants of Kathiawar and Cutch of early nineteenth century notice certainly no ordinary matter of routine administration. When the entire machinery of the Bombay Government and the Company's mighty military forces had to be engaged for a considerable time very stringently for the said 'benevolent crusade' then it is not difficult to realise that the Company must necessarily have important axes to grind.

Retracing the past history of bitter relation between the rising British Power and the declining Maratha Power, especially after the famous treaty of Salbai (1782) it becomes evident why the East India Company should become extremely concerned to command 'a controlling voice in Indian politics'.¹⁷ They had little time to waste in strengthening their expanding political authority in India in general and in that maritime district of Gujarat in particular. Since the first half of the sixteenth century the Portuguese Power were sustaining their superior control over the high seas from their fortified forts at Diu, Daman and Goa along a long stretch in western littoral side. To this positive source of a rival naval power the Government of Bombay could not logically sit satisfied to languish. They must require an entry into the maritime province of Gujarat not only to counter-balance the political advantages earned meanwhile by the Portuguese Power but also to arrange security of their Bombay fort, the imperial seat of the East India Company in western India. The bulk of the native chiefs of that province which possessed a strategic importance in offering almost complete control over the high seas bounding the long-stretched coast line of western India, were unfortunately not favourably disposed towards the Company's Administration. How to win over this strategic country and her valiant Rajput dwellers? Direct belligerent actions against them were likely to suffer exceptional escapades and corrosive intrigues and such explosive situation might throw the native Rajputs more assuredly in the good book of the Portuguese Power in defeating the ulterior imperialistic motives of the Company's Government in India.

Under the circumstances, the entire development linked up with British measures to suppress infanticide makes it highly probable that the Company's 'benevolent crusade' in closest fraternity with the Gaekwar Government and Cutch Authority did offer them a *noble cause* to serve efficiently in such manner that an effective penetration of the British

forces and diplomatic manoeuvres inside that strategic country and her disunited people could be realised relatively more easily. In fact, the custom of female infanticide was instrumental to open up a promising entry for Governor Duncan and his military forces under Colonel Walker's command in Kathiawar not only to achieve total suppression of the painful practice but also to *earn satisfactory accomplishment of the dire need of a stable moorings* for the East India Company in that maritime province against their competitive Portuguese Power. The British rulers desired very much a thumping political victory over the Peninsular Gujarat and her 'insurgent' Rajput inhabitants without inviting much mistrust, enmity and resistance from the people of the soil. Administrative moves to suppress an inhuman custom yielded better results in fulfilling imperialistic needs in western India under the crafty camouflage of 'benevolent crusade' against a domestic custom of the Jharejas, Soomras, Jetwas and other Rajputs. 'Benevolent crusade' saved in the long run the Jharejas and the like Rajputs from the melancholy of a dreadful custom and this 'crusade' was no less significant to instal British suzerainty over the high-spirited Rajputs and their country that was situated in a strategic position for controlling highseas in western India.

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REFORM OF WORLD MONETARY SYSTEM

SARATHI NATH SETH

A news agency from Brussels reports that The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions which represents some 63 million workers in 94 countries, said in its journal "FREE TRADE JOURNAL" that the fundamental aims of economic policy were endangered by makeshift arrangement to shore up a system out of democratic control. The ICFU called for a total reform of the world monetary system. There are hardly two opinions that the world monetary system has failed to concentrate on the fundamental aims of economic policy where Governors of Central Banks are allowed to exert undue influence on the economic policies of nations affecting unemployment levels, the rates at which incomes are to rise and the extension of social security systems. We must admit that the world conditions are far from satisfactory to devise institutions for guidance of nations ready and willing to step up development save and except manifestly ill-equipped machinery of the Central Banks acting through too wooden, too inelastic, too iron and too hard monetary systems of nations basing their decisions on makeshift attempts to restore the position of equilibrium. The real issue remains unsolved so long as the fundamental aims are hardly tackled along the international levels of employment, wages, income, profits, social security systems and price levels based on realistic terms. The world monetary systems however are left to the century old international capital investments perhaps to maintain constant traffic of gold as key to the fundamental aims of economic policy. In the nineteenth century and in the twentieth century it is no wonder that there has been constant traffic of gold diggers in the shape of colonial powers for development of colonial trade. Owing to the peculiar conditions of world trade, the colonial powers namely the United Kingdom, the USA, France, Germany and other European countries based their trade with no or little conception of monetary systems or other trade systems or money market save and except remittances of earnings from colonies for development of their own resources. In case there were difficulties in the way of further trade, there used to be conferences of colonial powers to tackle problems of monetary crisis through orthodox doctrines of free trade and free tariff but the problem was allowed to stay where they were before namely to devise monetary systems of their own makeshift arrangements to continue trade free from colonial resistance movement. The Commonwealth preference was devised to impoverish the monetary systems of colonial countries and furthermore there was no attempt to check the drain of gold along the pipeline of inter-

national communications through vast net work of oil combines, steel combines, coal combines, etc., and subsequent wheat agreement and other raw materials. The business through export performances was maintained through thousand other restrictions imposed on all colonies and the monetary systems were left out of control by treaties of great powers *inter se* hardly evolving pattern of systems to sustain the heavier burdens of the world monetary systems in the shape of the **INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND AND THE WORLD BANK AND INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION**. It is no wonder that the economic policies of nations were letting loose hell in the poorer countries all over the world and the makeshift attempts to grant loans by the richer countries were to borrowers' account save and except the process of controlling interests of huge investments was delaying the road to economic recovery of all borrowers staking their resources mixed up with the uneconomic terms of loans and grants at the cost of economic values, security values and democratic values. The great powers however considered the terms of foreign trade no other than the process of maintenance of employment levels in their own way and the borrowers were put on terms of repayment of debts with rate of interests hardly justified from long and short view points of the world monetary systems. The rate of income levels in the countries where economic development was undertaken was always downwards because of huge rate of interests charges demanded by the richer donors and it is no wonder that the costs of getting loans from the World Bank are far from economical ones because of considerations other than any based on efficient development of world monetary systems. There are several reasons for holding such extreme views at least so far as the Indian Union is concerned.

The Indian Union among other many recipient countries today has taken up planning development of nation building schemes for eradicating poverty of millions and there has been little chance of continuing with the programmes of the Fourth Five-Year Plan involving investment of about Rs. 18,000 Crores of Indian Rupees unless resources are mobilised along the realistic levels of expenditure. There has been earlier three five year plan of modest target and agriculture, education, health and family planning are far from satisfactory to go ahead with the industrial development that calls for huge investments of foreign capital unless of course there has been continued stability of world monetary systems. Nothing has so far been more disgusting than the apprehensions in the minds of the Government of India about the chance of getting assistance from among the richer Consortium Countries who failed to see the efficacy of the Fourth Five-Year Plan of limited targets of the value of foreign aid unspecified for no reasons. The Fourth Five-Year Plan is one of the series of documents prepared under the exigencies of the modern world monetary systems in the name of the **INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND HOLD-**

ING THE STABILITY OF THE POUND STERLING AND THE DOLLAR. The largest single factor is the stability of someone currency without which the economic policies of nations were bound to go by default. No attempt is made to fulfil the obligations of the richer countries who earn interests charges without being in any way involved in implementations of the economic policies of the recipient countries of foreign aids and moreover debts are debts to borrowers' account for all purposes with absolutely no commercial prejudices to the AID CONSORTIUM COUNTRIES. The terms of all such loans make the rich countries richer and the poor countries poorer. The false cry of alarm is raised in the world over that the rich countries may take no part in development of economic policies of nations save and except development of resources other than economics of underdeveloped countries. The strangest explanation of the few aids is hardly maintainable because of huge commitments of richer countries for competitions on levels of employment, income, wages, devaluation of rupees and other currency not at all touching the problem of world trade. The European members of the World Bank hardly have explanation to offer why large investments are allowed to develop nuclear potential of each other knowingly and fraudelently without replenishing the fund due and payable to the International Development Association. The largest affluent countries of the world today are the first to forestall the growth of the world trade by irksome burdens of tariff to borrowers' account and they are responsible for the scare of monetary crisis at the time such crisis is false, imaginary and hypothetical. The basis of such monetary crisis is the foundation of instability of the gold prices at the mercy of the Governors of the Central Banks all over the world. The sense of monetary policy is no longer in the minds of the richer countries and the only thing is uppermost to put restrictions on the World Bank's power to expand resources on economical terms. Furthermore over the last twenty years the affluence of Europe has increased fourfold and the poverty of masses in Europe alone costs the borrowers of the world to the tune of 25 per cent of the national budget. The costs of maintenance of the World Bank also exceed the national budget of several poorer nations who rely on the World Bank for implementation of limited plan. The development of loan expenditure is incresing at the geometrical rate while the development of economics is allowed to remain in the same position as it was before the development programme was undertaken by the poorer countries. The richer countries however considered the programmes of economic planning too much of burdens unless such burdens are left out of control by the Governments concerned. Therein lies the problem of monetary systems guided wrongly by the Governors of the Central Banks allocating money that begets more money irrespective of other considerations. The WORLD BANK is allowed to fulfil obligations of nature of more aids to the countries where money can grow quickly for solving problems of richer countries.

The industrial expansion is least resisted in richer countries by reasons of loans and grants to the poorer countries in search of goods of the richer variety at the cost of more drains of gold. There is no point in hoodwinking the world when it is clear from the past twenty years transaction of the treaty making powers of the world to help conditions of internal trade at home at the cost of borrowers limited ability. The richer countries spend annually to the tune of 20 per cent of the annual revenue for defence and the poorer countries are allowed to solve problems of huge defence commitments of the richer countries by interest charges of capital repayment. The development programmes of agriculture, health, education, family planning etc. are given a go-by or thrown in the background because it involved substantial aids of foreign capital which means again substantial cuts in defence programmes of aid givers. There is reason to believe that any cut in the defence programmes of all richer countries would solve all programmes of monetary reforms the world over but the world of plenty will resist such moves at all costs. That is the reason the world monetary crisis is allowed to remain in the same vulnerable region as before the World Bank was constituted. The far reaching measures of foreign lending are no longer sought for to take up the problem of employment levels, rise in income and social security systems any where in the world in case the richer countries fail to hold large stock of gold that is key to maintain the exchange rate for hard currency market. Besides the question of downward spirals of price levels is also uppermost in the minds of all richer nations in case the economics of scarcity is supplanted by the economics of affluence elsewhere outside the monetary systems forged by agreement under the International Monetary Fund. Furthermore, the question of more foreign aid becoming available to the poorer countries means less interest charges for maintainability of loans across the pipelines of international finance and lesser return of capital and lesser value of the hard currency if not gold so strenuously stockpiled in the name of emergency. The world monetary systems are pressed harder than before to carry out huge burdens of gold traffic unnecessarily for no benefit to the systems anywhere save and except to the richer countries unable to shake off the prejudices of the hour. The world trade and tariff are standing in the way of each other development programmes and added to those already imposed, the world interests charges are always to borrowers' account which impinges the freedom of trade and which curbs the influence of economics of living throughout the period of the aid. There is a sort of selfliquidating effect of loans being injected into the vulnerable regions which are too soft to bear burdens of uneconomic productivity of no benefit to the recipients of such loans unless such loans are fully tapped for productivity of rising levels of employment, income and social security systems. There is perhaps a gain in the sense that economics of the underdeveloped countries can direct expenditure without investments of their own labour. But that is also not possible.

because all such loans are investments by the richer countries so that benefit goes to maintenance of full employment programmes of theirs and expenditure is neither gain to the recipient of such loans nor desirable to the health of the economies of the borrowers. There is reason to believe that all such investments by the aid consortium countries are direct benefits to their to their own growth and the borrowers are at the mercy of lenders of no tangible effect to the growth of economies unless such developments are executed for sustained levels of employment, rise in incomes and social security systems. There is reason to believe that the World Bank hardly has control over the fundamental aims of economics of the poorer countries and there is no machinery to provide for development of the world banking institutions along the lines *e.g.* the total reform of the world monetary systems.

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THE MOON AND ENGLISH POETRY

BHUPENDRANATH SEAL

The Moon, the queen of heaven, has ever lent enchantment to the eyes of the poets who have sought beauty in the nocturnal sky. They have loved the moon in its different shapes and have called it by different names in many a mused rhyme. Many poets have looked at the moon as a symbol of high romance and have used it in various ways in their poetry to achieve remarkable effects.

Chaucer in "Troilus and Criseyde" has timely brought in the moon (which is often found to be associated with love), when love for Troilus wells up in the heart of Criseyde. She goes to sleep with a heart torn between love and fear. The quiet, scent-laden atmosphere of her chamber proves congenial for Criseyde's love-lorn heart. She finds a Nightingale on a tree singing of love against the moonshine:

A nightingale, upon a cedre grene,
Under the chambre-wal ther as she lay,
Ful loude sang ayein the mone shene,
Paraunter, in his briddes wyse, a lay
Of love, that made hir herte fresh and gay.

(Book II)

As Criseyde listens to the song of the nightingale her fear gives way to hope.

Shakespeare, the poet dramatist, has made a great use of the moon in "The Merchant of Venice". In Belmont night has never been so bright as when young Lorenzo finds it and utters in ecstasy:

The moon shines bright : in such a night as this

(Act V, i)

In such a moon-bleached night Lorenzo and Jessica find time fit for stealing each other's soul, Shakespeare thought it rightly that the moon-lit bank of Belmont would be a fit place for them for love-making, Lorenzo, the lover, now turns a poet and makes a rhapsody on the beauty of the night :

How sweet the moon light sleeps upon this bank
Here will we sit and let the sounds of music
creep in our ears.

(Act V, i)

Shakespeare with the help of the moon has successfully revived the merry note with which the play ends. He has created a romantic world by referring to the moon light through the magic web of poetry which, he knew, was more effective than what could be actually presented through sight. In "Antony and Cleopatra" Shakespeare has made a great use of the 'visiting

moon'. As Antony dies Cleopatra is left behind in a world of desolation. In the absence of Antony life to Cleopatra is shorn of all its charm. She now finds nothing remarkable in life and utters in despair :

And there is nothing in life remarkable
Beneath the visiting moon

(Act IV, Xiii)

The entire theme of one of Wordsworth's Lucy poems is based on the moon. The poet describes how he rides on 'beneath an evening moon' to reach the cottage of his beloved Lucy. Keeping his eyes fixed on the moon the poet rides through meadows and reaches Lucy's orchard. As he climbs the hill the moon behaves strangely. It sinks lower and gradually comes down to Lucy's cottage :

The sinking moon to Lucy's cot
Came near, and nearer still.

But the moon disappears suddenly behind Lucy's Cottage :

When down behind the Cottage-roof
At once, the bright moon dropped.

The sudden dropping of the bright moon, that has been so long guiding the poet on his way to Lucy's Cottage, is poignantly suggestive. It appears to the poet as symbolical of Lucy's death. In strange fear the poet cries to himself :

O mercy.....
'If Lucy should be dead' ;

The appearance of the 'moving moon' serves a definite purpose in Coleridge's "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner". The poet describes how the sufferings of the ancient mariner continue. His ship lies becalmed ; his crew perish and he is under the spell of a dreadful vision. In utter despair the mariner looks at the moon moving peacefully in the sky in wide indifference to his sufferings.

The moving moon went up the sky,
And nowhere did abide ;
Softly she was going up,
And a star or two beside.

The mariner with a tortured soul feels a longing for the moon and sees in its light the creatures of God. The moment he loves His creatures he receives His mercy and his sufferings soon come to an end. The poet has thus made the moon instrumental in bringing about the mariner's reversal of

fortune. Coleridge achieves remarkable effects by referring to the moon also in "Christabel". The moon, as described in the poem, serves a great purpose in the atmosphere of mystery weaved skilfully by the poet. The world conceived in "Christabel" is a dim, distant world neither of complete light nor of complete darkness but a half-way house between light and darkness. Coleridge has fully utilized the moon in creating an atmosphere of mystery and thus inducing the reader to have a willing suspension of disbelief. The poet describes how the moon, though at the full, shines only dimly behind the grey cloud :

The moon is behind and at the full
And yet she looks both small and dull.

Again in the light of the moon Christabel, while praying in the wood for the welfare of her betrothed knight, sees the silken robe of the strange lady (Geraldine) :

There she sees a damsel bright,
Drest in a silken robe of white.
That Shadowy in the moonlight shone.

All things happen in mid-night which is not absolutely dark as nothing can be seen in complete darkness. Thus with the help of the moon, along with other devices, Coleridge introduces the supernatural in the poem. The moon makes a pale but brisk appearance also in "Kubla Khan" which sprung from Coleridge's dream. The poet here takes the help of the 'waning moon' to describe a charmed 'savage place' in Xanadu where Kubla Khan ordered his pleasure-dome to be built :

A savage place ; as holy and enchanted
As e'er beneath a waning moon was haunted
By woman waiting for her demon-lover.

The moon therefore plays an important part in the magic world of Coleridge.

The appearance of the moon enhances the spirit of romance which pervades Keats's "The Eve of St. Agnes". The moon, as Keats describes it, opens up in the hushed stillness of night the gateway of love to young lover, Porphyro, who comes across the moors to meet Medeline in a deadly hostile world. The moon therefore is an integral part of the romantic theme of the poem. Keats's reference to the 'Queen Moon' is wonderfully effective in his "Ode to a Nightingale". He listens to the song of the nightingale and finds a cure of his weariness in the bird's woodland surcharged with beauty. Here Keats' imagination bodies forth an ideal world of beauty with everything that is beautiful. But the description of the tender beauty of the night is consummated only when he finds the 'Queen Moon' in the sky :

.....tender is the night,
 And haply the Queen-Moon is on her throne,
 Cluster'd around by all her starry Fays.

Tennyson in "Mariana" twice refers to the 'low moon' and makes it one of his devices in conjuring up the atmosphere of mystery when Mariana heaves sighs of despair and pines away in her loneliness. In the dreary night she sees 'the gusty shadow' in the light of the moon :

And ever when the moon was low,
 And the shrill winds were up and away,
 In the white curtain, to and fro,
 She saw the gusty shadow sawy.

Tennyson has given the 'full-faced' moon a permanent habitation in the lotus-eaters' seductive land of 'eternal afternoon'. Tennyson's reference to the moon in "The Lady of Shalott" is very significant. The lady gets through her mirror a glimpse of two young lovers 'lately wed' only when the moon is overhead :

When the moon was overhead
 Came two young lovers lately wed.

The sight of the young lovers specially on a moon lit night creates a heart-break in the lady. It sadly reminds her of the prevailing darkness of her life of isolation and the moon-lit world of love and joy outside. Her heart-ache deepens and she confesses it immediately after :

'I am half sick of shadows'.

The moon also forms an inseparable part of the enchanting landscape portrayed in Tennyson's "Maud". The fleeting character of the pleasant night finds an adequate expression in the lines where the nameless youth expresses his love for Maud. He refers to 'the setting moon' to suggest to Maud the slow fade-out of the night and wants her to come to him :

All night have the roses heard
 The flute, violin, bassoon ;
 All night has the casement jessamine stirr'd
 To the dancers dancing in tune ;
 Till a silence fell with the waking bird,
 And a hush with the setting moon.

The moon provides a common image in the poetry of Matthew Arnold. So his nocturnal landscape is very often drenched in moon light. The 'moon-blanch'd green' enhances the pastoral beauty in "The Scholar Gipsy". In "Thyrsis" Arnold with exquisite strokes describes the beauty of night with

'the full moon and the evening-star.' The poet discovers in the night the grim truth that the beauty of nature fades away only to reappear again. But his dear Thyrsis will not be seen any more. Arnold's reference to 'the solitary moon' in "Sohrab and Rustum" lays bare the sense of stark tragedy prevailing by the Oxus. Sohrab dies struck down by his father. Darkness creeping from the Oxus envelopes nature. The father and the son are left alone by the river which flows beneath the 'solitary moon.' In "To Marguerite" the poet's longing for communion with Marguerite is enkindled as he listens to the song of the Nightingales on the starry moon-lit nights :

- But when the moon their hollows lights,
And they are swept by balms of spring,
And in their glens, on starry nights,
- The nightingales divinely sing ;
And lovely notes, from shore to shore,
Across the sounds and channels pour—
Oh ; then a longing like despair
Is to their farthest caverns sent.

Walter de la Mare creates, with his utmost use of the moon, a world of fantasy in "The Listeners" where light and darkness are inextricably mingled. He evokes the sense of mystery in his region of twilight where shadows have a weird spell. The faint moon beams, as described by the poet, take us into the enchanted region of mystery where there is no human being but only phantom listeners. The poet describes how a traveller on a quiet night smites in vain on the door of a desolate house in a deep forest. But the door which the traveller strikes is 'moonlit' and of all things the phantom listeners throng the faint moon beams which only half illuminate the stair where they stand :

But only a host of phantom listeners
That dwelt in the lone house then
Stood listening in the quiet of the moonlight
To that voice from the world of men :
Stood thronging the faint moonbeams on the dark stair.

The 'yellow moon' in Masfield's "Trade Winds" instills an air of mysterious enchantment into the atmosphere of nightly revelry and intoxication by the Spanish Seas ;

And O' nights there's fire-flies and the yellow moon,
And in the ghostly palm-trees the sleepy tune
Of the quiet voice calling me, the long low croon
Of the steady Trade Winds blowing.

DICKENS'S DEVELOPMENT AS ARTIST

R. K. GUPTA

In his own lifetime, and for a long time after his death Dickens was regarded as an erratic genius, as a man of exuberant fancy who, unchecked by authority and unchastened by art, wielded his pen, as Scott said of Byron, "with the careless and negligent ease of a man of quality." He was looked upon as a painter who splashed his canvas at random with vivid and delightful pigments, but who had no sense of proportion, symmetry, or restraint. During the last twenty years, there has been some realization of the fallaciousness of this traditional approach towards Dickens. But the full extent of his achievement and the range and direction of his development as artist have not yet been adequately recognized and understood. And yet the subject is of sufficient magnitude to call for exploration in depth and detail. In this essay, I propose to deal with Dickens's plot-construction, his attitude towards the problems and techniques of fiction-writing, his attention to detail in his novels, and his prose style in an attempt to throw light upon his development as artist.

Dickens's plots have been made the target of much adverse criticism. Symons, for example, describes his novels as "tales of blood and saccharine," and Gissing reprehends Dickens's tendency to weave his stories round "some far-fetched eccentricity, some piece of knavishness, some unlikely occurrence". Although it is true that Dickens's plots are full of clumsy shifts and mechanisms, and theatrical, even melodramatic, expedients, they yet deserve a close and sympathetic study, and on being so studied, reflect Dickens's growing concern for organic unity in fiction and his increasing skill in unifying discursiveness of incident and diversity of experience into a compact whole.

In *The Pickwick Papers*, Dickens takes the convenient framework of Smollett's picaresque romance and weaves round it a string of comic, even farcical, situations. His chief aim here is to produce a bouncing, rollicking story which should capture his readers. He is, therefore, not much concerned with giving it a coherent shape. Corresponding to his indifference to the construction of a plot, we find, in the original Preface to *The Pickwick Papers*, the remark that in a serial novel "no artfully interwoven or ingeniously complicated plot can with reason be expected."

The Pickwick Papers clearly began as an improvisation, without any preliminary period of imaginative incubation. Moreover, in place of spontaneously growing in Dickens's mind, it was written in response to an external demand.¹ Even so, it is not so devoid of unity, so shapeless and rambling, as it has been generally regarded. As the story progressed, its plan grew in Dickens's mind, and a careful study of its structure reveals a gradual emergence of unifying threads juxtaposed with the miscellaneous,

rambling pattern. In the first eleven chapters, the characters are flat and the episodes farcical, and there are as many as three interpolated tales² which have no structural or even emotional relevance. But in the twelfth chapter, the character of Sam Weller is integrated with the theme of the novel, and henceforward, the deepening relation between Sam and his master provides it with a clearly perceptible unifying thread. Another unifying thread which can be discerned is the action of *Bardell vs. Pickwick* which, foreshadowed as early as in the twelfth chapter, is systematically developed in the later part of the novel.

Gradually Dickens learned how to reconcile careful planning with the improvisation forced upon him by the exigencies of serial publication. He grew increasingly conscious of the necessity of unifying and integrating his stories. *Oliver Twist* and *Nicholas Nickleby* do not mark much improvement upon *The Pickwick Papers* in point of construction. But *The Old Curiosity Shop* is carefully structured and proceeds at an even pace from the beginning to the end. Its unity, however, is not primarily unity of action, but a unity of atmosphere. What Dickens now realizes is the fact that a mechanically contrived plot is not the only means of unifying a novel, and that unity in fiction can also be conceived in terms of theme, symbol, or atmosphere. Thus, in *The Old Curiosity Shop*, the disparate elements are harmonized by the aura of dreamlike atmosphere which envelops it from the beginning to the end.³ *Barnaby Rudge* shows even greater artistic development on the part of the writer and an increased skill in the handling of plot. Dickens's integration of the two narrative threads—the private romance (Haredale-Rudge murder-mystery) and the historical narrative (Gordon Riots)—is managed with exceptional skill. Even Gissing, whose strictures on Dickens's plots are sometimes unduly severe, admits that this novel is free from "his worst vices of construction." Dickens now begins to speak of the "agonies of plotting and contriving." In the original Preface to *Martin Chuzzlewit*, he goes so far as to say that he has kept "a steadier eye" upon the "general purpose and design" of the novel and that he has put a "strong constraint" upon himself "from time to time, in many places." Critics who call *Martin Chuzzlewit* a shapeless and rambling novel miss the point. The novel has a thematic unity, not an "executive" but an "organic" form. It is unified by its pervasive theme of selfishness and hypocrisy.

Some modern critics of Dickens have thrown considerable light upon his method of composition. By referring to a number of documents hitherto ignored, they have proved conclusively that his later novels involved considerable and careful planning, extensive revision, and scrupulous and unremitting attention to minutiae.⁴

Dombey and Son was thoroughly designed in advance, and a study of its structure reveals numerous traces of careful planning and premeditation. The fifth chapter of *Dickens at Work* by Butt and Tillotson contains a masterly exposition of the extent of planning involved and of the tenacity

with which the writer adhered to the original design he had conceived. By having recourse to a number of items of evidence, which these critics brilliantly analyze and interpret, they have proved beyond a shadow of doubt that the general progress of the tale had already been fixed upon by the writer before he set his pen to paper. The items of evidence examined by them in detail are three: (1) the title of the novel, which is the most provocative Dickens had so far devised, (2) the cover-design, which, according to Dickens himself, shadows out the "drift and bearing" of the story, and (3) Dickens's letter to Forster, in which the whole story of Mr. Dombey as a father was carefully worked out before the title was announced. It is not without significance that at about this time, writing a preface to the 1847 edition of *The Pickwick Papers*, he regrets the fact that the chapters of the novel were not "strung together on a stronger thread of general interest."

David Copperfield, notwithstanding its occasional meanderings, is integrated by a first person point of view which is consistently maintained and which is handled with a skill superb enough to arouse the admiration of a fastidious critic like Percy Lubbock. A careful study of its number plans shows detailed and extensive planning. Substantial evidence of a commanding purpose is also provided by some assertions of the writer himself. In his letter to James White dated July 13, 1850, he says: "I have carefully planned out the story, for some time past to the end, and am making out my purposes with great care."⁵ Even Dickens's contemporary critics and reviewers, who were not much interested in problems of unity and structure, appreciated the smooth and steady flow of its narrative. The storm scene was prepared with meticulous care and involved at least four days' labour.

Dickens's last novels show increasing skill in plot-construction. *Bleak House* has been described by Chesterton as Dickens's "best novel, . . . the best arranged, the best constructed." Here the diversity of detail is unified into a compact whole by the great case of Jarndyce vs. Jarndyce which occupies the centre of the stage and serves as a recurring symbol, fortified and reinforced by the symbols of fire and fog which have been made subservient to it. Stevenson rightly describes it as "a marvel of structural unity." As for *Hard Times*, its symmetrical construction is only to be matched by that of *Dombey and Son*, and its division into books⁶ calls attention to and emphasizes the movements in the story. Further evidence of Dickens's increasing attention to construction is provided by the fact that from *Hard Times* onwards every novel except the last unfinished one is divided into books. Even *Little Dorrit*, the most rambling of his mature novels, bears traces of premeditation. Its political, social, and ethical themes are clearly shadowed forth by the cover-design. Dickens's intention had become so self-consciously artistic by now that concerning the inserted tale "The History of a Self-Tormentor," he wrote to Forster defending the

use of the interpolated story as a necessary way of presenting the main idea of a full book in capsule form.⁷

But the climax of Dickens's concern with structure is to be found in the first two paragraphs of the "Postscript" to *Our Mutual Friend*, in which, in what has been rightly described as a Jamesian tone, he speaks of "the relation of [the story's] finer threads to the whole pattern which is always before the eyes of the story weaver at his loom," and "in the interest of art" thinks it worth his while to hint to the reader that "an artist (of whatever denomination) may perhaps be trusted to know what he is about in his vocation." The pronounced, almost defiant, aestheticism of this statement is certainly revealing.

Dickens's conscientiousness as artist is also testified by the extent to which he revised his *Sketches by Boz* before allowing them to be reprinted. When Dickens collected them for the first time (1836), he subjected them to a drastic process of revision and made innumerable alterations both of substance and form, and he continued to revise for every successive edition (Second Series, 1837; Complete in one volume, 1839; "Cheap edition," 1850).

In addition to mere mechanical forms of revision such as re-paragraphing, drastic excisions and cuts were made in the *Sketches*, some dictated, no doubt, by the exigencies of space, but most of them motivated by the artistic desire to condense and to concentrate. Some of the sketches were shorn of their formal introductions and conclusions so as to have a close-knit texture.⁸ The journalistic causticity of the original sketches was replaced by an urbanity of tone, and ephemeral allusiveness and topicality were removed.⁹ Strong language was modified and occasional touches of indelicacy and profanity were expurgated. The style was formalized by the removal of colloquialisms from narration and description and by the elimination of slangs and tautological expressions. Fantasticality of simile was restrained and harshness of humour was softened. Some of these revisions were no doubt actuated by Dickens's unfortunate tendency to compromise at the expense of art and emphasis in conformity with the effeminate taste of a prudish public. But many of these revisions were made for purely aesthetic reasons and evince more care and scruple than Dickens has often been credited with by his critics. The extensive revision, almost the metamorphosis, which the sketch originally entitled "A Dinner at Poplar Walk" underwent was motivated purely by a desire for literary improvement. The care which Dickens took in revising his sketches and the direction and probable motives of the revision indicate his growing consciousness of an artistic purpose, and the extent of his endeavour to transform journalism into literature is brought out by the fact that not one tale or sketch was reprinted as originally published.

Dickens was meticulous about the minute and seemingly insignificant details of his novels. He took immense pains to have his serial numbers

illustrated in a way that ensured fidelity to his design. His letter to Hablot Browne which contains detailed instructions for the first illustration in *Dombey and Son* VII is representative of the minute attention to detail that Dickens paid in all his undertakings. Similarly, he gave personal instructions to Charles Collins for the cover-design of *Edwin Drood*. Sometimes he would write to Forster to have a minor detail incorporated at the proof stage. As the last number of *Dombey and Son* was going to press, Dickens remembered that in the eclaireissement, the dog Diogenes had been overlooked, and so he sent alternative revisions to be inserted in proof. Sometimes a minor detail in a Dickens novel is made to represent the theme of the whole book in a capsule form. The juxtaposition of fact and fancy in *Hard Times*, for example, and the lurking presence of "the light of fancy" in a dusty, jejune matter-of-fact place like Coketown are symbolized by the name—Pegasus's Arms—given to the principal inn of the town.

Dickens took great pains in choosing names for his fictional characters. Occasionally a name was chosen after as many as three attempts. The excellent and symbolical name "Murdstone" was chosen after Dickens had rejected, one after another, "Hasden," "Murdle," and "Murden". Similarly, "Miss Mowcher" was chosen after the rejection of "Miss Croodledey," "Miss Croodledy," and "Miss Croodlejeux," and "Bounderby" after the rejection of "Bound" and "Boulder".

A careful study of Dickens's diminishing fluency at his desk gives us a clue to the extent and direction of his development as artist. As a young man, Dickens was a fast and fluent writer and composed at a speed which appears to us astounding. The surviving manuscript sheets of his early novels suggest "a hand racing to keep pace with the mind's conceptions." He was able to compose eleven or twelve sheets a day and at a push as many as twenty sheets. But in the plenitude of his power, he became more and more fastidious and found it difficult to satisfy himself. The manuscripts of his later novels are full of erasures and interlineations. Now an average day's work produced only two sheets and an exceptional day's work four sheets.

Similarly, Dickens embarked upon his early novels lightly, with practically no material in hand. But a large portion of his later novels like *Little Dorrit* and *Our Mutual Friend* was ready before he allowed their first number to appear in print. The improvised nature of his earlier novels as contrasted with the long periods of imaginative incubation involved in his later ones, and the sharp antithesis presented by the purely external inspiration of *The Pickwick Papers* on one hand and the grip of the original idea on his imagination in *Barnaby Rudge* on the other show that in Dickens's case, the facility of early novel-writing was succeeded by the painful toil of composition experienced by fastidious artists. Writing *Little Dorrit*, he used to pace the room restlessly tearing his hair.

Critics often argue that Dickens was an unconscious artist, unaware

of the artistic problems presented by novel-writing. Symons remarks that "very probably" Dickens did not think of himself in the light of an artist. The German critic Wolfgang Wickhardt, after having plodded his way through Dickens's prefaces and his huge correspondence, is struck by the fact that they do not contain a single critical remark or a statement of aesthetic conviction. A superficial study of Dickens's prefaces and letters is no doubt depressing. But if we keep in view the fact that those were not the days of conscious, explicit theorizing and then study his remarks with care, we shall find that he was keenly aware of the restrictions that hampered him even while he appeared to accept them. Again and again, we find him chafing with the artificial restraints imposed upon him by the serial form of publication and the prudery of his public. His manifesto "To the Readers of Master Humphrey's Clock," published in October, 1841, contains a masterly exposition of the drawbacks and disadvantages of the weekly part: "I have often felt cramped and confined in a very irksome and harassing degree by the space in which I have been constrained to move," and "I cannot bear these jerking confidences which are no sooner begun than ended, and no sooner ended than begun again." In his prefaces and letters, he is constantly occupied with the problems of unity¹⁰ and realism¹¹ in fiction. He was genuinely distressed by the status of the novel in his time and repeatedly expressed his intention of enhancing its prestige. "If I have an object in life, it is to leave my calling (as I do believe I shall) much better than I found it," he says, and his letters, prefaces, and speeches show a dedicated professionalism, a devotion to art that reminds one of Flaubert and James.

Any study of Dickens's development as artist would be incomplete without some consideration of his style. For a long time, Dickens was regarded as a barbarian in style who was impervious to the delicate shades and nuances of words. Even a twentieth-century critic could say that Dickens was not a craftsman, "had no feeling for words."²² The style of Dickens has been the shining object of much popular prejudice, and a rapid survey of his growing concern for careful workmanship will not be out of place.

Dickens's early works are marred by shrillness of tone and a maudlin rhetoric. There is a journalistic facility and crudeness about the *Sketches*. They abound, as Edgar Johnson says, in "flip puns and knowing word-plays"; too often, they fall into "a polysyllabic turgidness." They are full of mannerisms, tricks, and wildly hyperbolic comparisons. As one of his contemporary reviewers remarked, Dickens at this time wrote with the "factitious adornment" and "constant straining for effect" of a journalist.

But gradually his style developed and improved. In *David Copperfield*, the tone becomes suave and urbane, and the style moves effortlessly in a smooth and placid flow. In *Bleak House*, it takes on a harsh, discordant rhythm that is in harmony with the chilly atmosphere it reflects. Graham

Greene admires the "delicate and exact poetic cadences" in which *Great Expectations* is written and describes Dickens's mature style as a "secret prose" which gives us "that sense of a mind speaking to itself with no one there to listen." The prolixity, the rambling and leisurely pace of the early novels should be set against the concentration and economy of *Hard Times* with its brief, compressed but richly suggestive descriptions of characters and surroundings.

The gradual stages of the development of his style can also be seen in the progressively increasing merit of his highly stylized creations. The forensic style of the red-faced, splenetic speaker in "The Parlour Orator" is boisterously funny, but it is full of crudeness and puerility. In *Bleak House*,¹³ it becomes transformed into the glib and ludicrous rhetoric of Chadband, unsurpassable for its rich comic appeal. Similarly, the Non-conformist preacher of his early pamphlet "Sunday under Three Heads" becomes Stiggins in *The Pickwick Papers*, Howley in *Dombey and Son*, and Chadband in *Bleak House*; and every time there is an increased sureness of touch and deftness of handling.

Dickens's development as artist was accompanied by an intellectual development—a ripening and maturing of ideology, and a truer and surer grasp of the nature of things. Exigencies of space do not permit me to make more than a bare mention of the shift of tone from the bouncing humour of the early novels with their hearty exuberance and their air of breezy confidence to the acrid and bitter tone of what have been described as his "dark-period novels," with their gloomy and sombre flavour and their "dark, fateful, silent elements, tragical to look upon and hiding, amid dazzling radiances, as of the sun, the elements of death itself." There is a steady line of growth from the sunny humour of *The Pickwick Papers* to the disillusionment and the penetrating social criticism of *Little Dorrit* and *Our Mutual Friend*. Mention should also be made of Dickens's growing skill in his social criticism, from the crude, direct denunciation of the early novels and the presentation of such incredibly exaggerated characters as Bill Sikes and Joñas Chuzzlewit, to the artistic compression of indignation into symbolical devices of his later novels—ice in *Dombey and Son*, fog in *Bleak House*, marshes in *Great Expectations* and dustheap in *Our Mutual Friend*—and to symbolical characterizations like those of Murdstone and Gradgrind.

If we now survey at a glance the entire work of Dickens, we shall see clearly the direction followed by him from the beginning to the end of his career. He began as an improvisator, immature and puerile in his conceptions, hasty and negligent in the execution. He wrote without planning and premeditation, incorporating into his work creations which gripped his fancy in the course of composition and which sometimes derange the purport or the unity of the story. His style at this stage is often slipshod and slovenly, and the lapses into a mawkish, lachrymose sentimentality

are simply execrable. But he devoted himself to the art he practised and gained increasing proficiency in it. One line of progression, distinctly visible, is from the loose, rambling narratives like *The Pickwick Papers* and *Nicholas Nickleby* to the careful planning and systematization of *Dombey and Son* and the firm construction of *Bleak House* and *Hard Times*. Another line of progression is from the journalistic facility of early novels to the careful workmanship of later ones, facile writing in his case being succeeded by a deliberate and painful method of composition. Yet another line of progression is from an extravagant and shapeless to a chastened and chiselled style. The obvious and inevitable conclusion is that Dickens was not an unruly genius but a great artist who became increasingly careful and conscientious with the progress of time.

REFERENCES

¹Preface to the 1847 edition of *The Pickwick Papers*.

²"The Stroller's Tale" (Chapter III); "The Convict's Return" (Chapter VI); "The Madman's Manuscript" (Chapter XI).

³"I had it always in my fancy to surround the lonely figure of the child with grotesque and wild, but not impossible companions," Dickens himself remarks in the Preface.

⁴See especially John Butt and Kathleen Tillotson, *Dickens at Work*, Chapter I.

⁵Consider also this statement of Dickens's regarding *David Copperfield*:

'I constructed the whole with immense pains and have so woven it up and blended it together that I cannot yet so separate the parts as to tell the story of David's married life with Dora.' *The Letters of Charles Dickens*, edited by Walter Dexter, II, 619.

⁶Sowing/Reaping/Garnering.

⁷*The Letters of Charles Dickens*, II, 776.

⁸"The Prisoner's Van"; "Scotland-Yard"; "Astley's".

⁹"The Steam Excursion"; "Thoughts about People."

¹⁰See Prefaces to the 1837 and 1847 editions of *The Pickwick Papers*, original Preface to *Martin Chuzzlewit*, and Postscript to *Our Mutual Friend*.

¹¹See Prefaces to *Oliver Twist*, *Nicholas Nickleby*, *Martin Chuzzlewit*, *Dombey and Son*, *Bleak House*, and *Little Dorrit*, and also *The Letters of Charles Dickens*, II, 352, 653. Examples need not be multiplied. Dickens's Prefaces and letters provide us with a wealth of critical comment which is far from negligible.

¹²*The Journals of Arnold Bennett*.

¹³Aldous Huxley's "Vulgarity in Literature" is an illuminating study of Dickens's emotionalism.

THE RENT QUESTION IN BENGAL AND SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (1871-74)

KALYANKUMAR SENGUPTA

Sir George Campbell, who succeeded Sir William Grey in 1871, as the Lt. Governor of Bengal was in many ways a remarkable, though not always a likeable personality.¹ Able, agile and masterful, this "avowed reformer" who had previously served in Northern India in various capacities, both administrative and judicial had activated the Bengal administration during the period he occupied Belvedere.² These momentous years saw the Lushai expedition of 1871, the first census of 1872, the Muffassil Municipal Bill of 1872 (vetoed by the Government of India), the separation of Assam from Bengal in 1874 and the Famine of 1873-74. Campbell took a leading role in most of these events and invariably took the side of progress and order. Yet none of these events was more important than the rent question (at least to Campbell himself) which demanded much of the Lt. Governor's time and energy and which remained a major problem during his term of office in the province.³

Ever since he became the Lt. Governor, Campbell was deeply conscious of the mounting agrarian tensions in Bengal. Naturally from this time onwards the energy of the Lt. Governor coupled with the pressure of events helped to make the policy of the government on agrarian relations much more meaningful, leading to a break with the late policy of "masterly inactivity".

Shortly after assuming office, Campbell had ordered a full scale enquiry into the agricultural statistics of the province, including the tenures and sub-tenures which existed and the value of land on the estates which were permanently settled as well as the relations which prevailed between the Zamindars and the ryots under the Permanent Settlement.⁴ These enquiries naturally created a furor, and the landlords apprehended that Campbell was trying to do away with their rights of property. The Lt. Governor was consequently advised by the Secretary of State on the 21st March, 1872, not to make any sweeping change in the course of a policy which had been pursued for forty years, without the previous sanction of the British Government.⁵ This indicated that Campbell's thinking on agrarian problems differed materially from that of the higher authorities in India and England. It was to become more and more apparent as the energetic Lt. Governor, sought to introduce bolder measures.

Lecturing in England on the Irish land question four years prior to his arrival in Bengal, Campbell had expressed the opinion that the revenue

law of Bengal should serve as a model on which to proceed on the Irish question.⁶ Later in a pamphlet published under the sanction of the Cobden Club in 1870, he emphasised that the ryots of Bengal possessed certain very valuable rights.⁷ However, he had to modify these views substantially when he came into closer contact with the revenue administration of Bengal. Thus in a letter published in the *Calcutta Gazette*, the Lt. Governor summarised the effects of the British rule in the country as reducing the people into two classes——“the landlords without duties and the tenants without rights”.⁸ This belief strengthened his resolve to give as much relief as possible to the peasantry who were the victims of the worst kind of landlord tyranny. In fact, this was the real determinant of his subsequent rent policy; a policy which led to the consideration by the Lt. Governor of vital questions like the imposition of the illegal cesses by the landlords, the re-transfer of rent suits from the civil courts to the revenue courts, the appointment of a special commission to enquire into the causes of agrarian disputes and the consolidation of the revenue law of Bengal. The consideration of these problems brought him face to face with a vital policy decision. Should the government actively interfere to settle all the outstanding questions pertaining to the landlord-tenant relationship in the province or should the government allow the policy of “*laissez faire*” to continue? Initially Campbell was only too eager to take the first decision as he received from Orissa shortly after his assumption of office alarming reports of excessive levy of illegal cesses by the Zamindars.⁹

The Orissa papers revealed for the first time in a glaring manner the depth of the problem. In fact these papers disclosed that not only the burdens of taxation but also the actual personal expenses of the proprietors were thrown indiscriminately upon the lowest classes of the people who were least able to support them.¹⁰ These reports created a flutter in the revenue department and the Board of Revenue urged for direct interference by the government as the situation was fraught with “imminent political danger”.¹¹ The member, Board of Revenue, Mr. Schalch, consequently advised the Lt. Governor to take over the management of the Orissa estates under Regulation VIII of 1822.¹² Considering the past policy of the government this was certainly a bold suggestion. Campbell however was prepared for bolder measures. He thought that the Zamindars were not the unlimited proprietors or the ryots without rights or claims to protection. The Government of Bengal, thus wrote the Board of Revenue on the 12th December, 1871. “The Code of 1793 recognised in the fullest manner the rights of the ryots to hold at established rates and to be freed from “*abwabs*” and that code is full of provision and declarations making it clear that the intention of the framers was by no means to abstain from interference between the Zamindars and the ryots. On the contrary, the duty of protecting the lower mass of the community—the ryots—was

recognised and asserted by the government of that day in the amplest manner."¹³ Accordingly Campbell felt that when cases of oppression and illegal exactions were brought to light, government interference would never be against the basic principles of the permanent settlement. Rather it would be a "ground of reproach if under such circumstances it failed to interfere effectively."¹⁴ An enquiry was therefore ordered to look into the nature and the extent of the illegal cesses imposed by the landlords of Bengal. These enquiries made it plain that inspite of the prohibitions of the law cesses were levied illegally in every district of Bengal.¹⁵ This clear evidence, notwithstanding, most of the district officers were reluctant to take any punitive measures against the landlords as they apprehended that any such interference would induce the landlords to enhance the rents causing greater distress to the ryots.¹⁶ On top of this, a section of the local press, dominated by the landlords¹⁷ waged a veritable crusade against Sir George for taking up the cess question and powerfully defended the illegal exactions.

The *Hindoo Patriot*, the organ of the Bengal Zamindars, affirmed that the cesses formed a part of the *Jumma* (rent) which the ryots had willingly and cheerfully paid hitherto all over the country as "moral adjustments" of rents.¹⁸ These arguments were forcefully supported by the "*Englishman*", and organ of the indigo planters who only a few years before were engaged in a deadly struggle with a section of the Zamindars during the indigo disturbances. The journal thus not only defended the cesses but also pointed out that the annulment of cesses without compensation would cost the entire loss on the landlords.¹⁹ Moreover it was also stated that the existing rent law was utterly inadequate to bring about a happy compromise between the landlords and the tenants on this issue as it threw the entire onus of litigation upon the landlords.²⁰ Even a generally pro-ryot weekly "*The Bengalee*" thought that though the cesses were levied throughout the province, some of them were cheerfully "borne" by the ryots and as these had become so old-standing that they had come to be looked upon as legitimate dues and any hasty interference would make the lot of the landlords worse without making that of the ryots better.²¹ The "*Dacca Prokash*" and "*Sahachar*" threw a veritable challenge to the Lt. Governor and emphatically stated that inspite of any measures the mutual arrangement (cesses) between the Zamindars and the ryots would continue to be made.²² The *Friend of India*, the influential journal of the christian missionaries of Serampore however pointed out that though some of the cesses were still tokens of respect as they were in patriarchal or anarchical days, yet most of these had in course of time ceased to bear that character.²³ A section of the vernacular press also emphatically supported Campbell's action and urged the Lt. Governor to abolish the cesses altogether.²⁴

Yet the persistent opposition of the pro-landlord press and the re-

luctance of the local officers to interfere with the illegal cesses forced the Lt. Governor to modify substantially his earlier policy. This became evident when Sir George recorded the resolution of the 30th May, 1873. "This system of illegal exactions is now, however in such universal vogue, is so deeply rooted and so many social relations depend upon them, that it becomes a question whether it is desirable that the government should by any general or very stringent measures interfere to put a stop to them. It must be thoroughly understood however that the government in hesitating to adopt severe or extreme measures in no degree recognises or legalises these cesses. Illegal, irrecoverable by law and prohibited they must remain but it may perhaps be better under all circumstances except in extreme cases not directly to interfere. As the people get better protected and better able to understand their own rights and position, things will no doubt adjust themselves".²⁵ Sir George thus made a tactical retreat and the pro-landlord press fully utilised this opportunity to tarnish his image. The pro-ryot newspapers also naturally criticised the new policy as it sought to maintain the status quo.²⁷ Campbell was thus unable to give full effect to a policy he had contemplated when he ordered the "adwab" enquiries, a policy which if carried to its logical end would have removed a perpetual source of agrarian tensions and would have cleared the way for a meaningful solution of the rent question.

There was thus no material change in the conditions of the ryots and the increasing rural tensions burst into flames in June 1873 in Pabna and the neighbouring districts of Dacca,²⁸ Bograh,²⁹ and Rajshahi,³⁰ inducing the Lt. Governor to review the rent question afresh. This time, however, Campbell faced the situation with greater caution as he now became aware of the increasing incompatibility of his own thinking on the subject with that of his superiors; in Calcutta and London.

The agrarian rising in Pabna, in particular brought to the surface some of the very glaring and deep-seated problems concerning the landlord-tenant relationship. This convinced Campbell that the situation in East and Central Bengal demanded a thorough review of the rent question in all its aspects. At the same time he also felt that unless the government was prepared to tackle the entire question on a long-term basis, the best course would be to follow a policy of masterly inactivity.³¹ Yet he did not fail to remind the Viceroy that the agrarian relations in Bengal was a subject on the course of which must depend the political position for a very long time to come,³² and as such any attempt to settle any part of the problem would actually force the government to settle the whole of an enormous problem.

Moved by these considerations, he advised the Government of India not to insist on any piece meal solution of the problem.³⁴ In making this recommendation Campbell was conscious that any such attempt on the part of the government would only serve to antagonise the powerful land-

holding interests, who could make themselves heard in the "highest quarters and who were only too eager to protest against any interference on the part of the government as a violation of their rights, a breach of faith and a tampering with the permanent settlement".³⁵

This time, therefore, the Lt. Governor was determined not to interfere unless he received the fullest co-operation of the Government of India in bringing about a lasting solution of the rent problem. Conveying this opinion of the Lt. Governor, Mr. McKenzie, the Secretary to the Government of Bengal informed the Government of India on the 25th September 1873. "The proper time for interference will be when the evils are so undoubted that we can interfere thoroughly and effectually with the general accord of reasonable men on both sides and with the determination to carry interference to the point which will secure a permanent settlement of the relations of the various parties interested in the soil and ensure the continued enjoyment by all of their respective rights".³⁶ Campbell's earlier set back thus made him wiser and consequently in spite of his fervent desire to solve the rent problem he was not willing to take any unilateral step. Rather he was prepared to leave things as they were.

This attitude, however, could not conceal his pronounced sympathies for the ryots,³⁷ which became strikingly evident when he was called upon to tackle other issues connected with the rent question. In dealing with these problems, Campbell once again clashed with the Viceroy, Northbrook, the Secretary of State, the Duke of Argyll as well as an influential section of the British press,³⁸ which favoured a generally pro-landlord policy. This became abundantly clear as specific problems came in for detailed consideration.

The first problem was the issue of the re-transfer of the rent suits from the Civil Courts to the revenue department. The Act of 1869 which transferred these suits to the Civil Courts, became universally popular among the ryots as the latter were given at long last a potent weapon with which they could challenge the might of the Zamindars.³⁹ This was confirmed by the *Friend of India*. "It must be remembered in favour of the judicial system and the reign of law in Bengal, that the Civil Courts have in their decisions of the last four years recognised and respected very fully the rights of the ryots as secured to them by the much abused legislation of 1859".⁴⁰

As a result in the districts of Central and Eastern Bengal litigation increased considerably⁴¹; and the peasants began to assert their rights.⁴² The Zamindars however found the act highly distasteful and spared no efforts to secure the re-transfer of the rent suits to the revenue courts.⁴³ They pointed out that as a result of the change the settlement of the rent suits were considerably delayed and the agrarian tensions in consequence tended to increase.⁴⁴ The real reason however, of the landlords' opposition was the increasing difficulty of recovering rents from the refractory

ryots⁴⁵. The *Hindoo Patriot* thus complained that the act of 1869 had made serious encroachments on the rights of the landlords⁴⁶. The Government of India in a communication dated the 23rd September 1873 also indirectly suggested that the rent suits should be re-transferred to the revenue authorities.⁴⁷ Campbell, however was determined to resist the move and he told Northbrook "the cry for the re-transfer to the revenue courts is definitely a Zamindars' cry—the ryots should not be handed back to any courts less scrupulous of their legal rights and privileges"⁴⁸. Campbell therefore firmly opposed the re-transfer unless the government reconsidered the entire question of agrarian relations in the broadest way.

The Lt. Governor, also did not see eye to eye with Northbrook when the latter suggested the appointment of a special commission vested with wide powers to deal summarily with the rent disputes and to settle there by awards that should not be open to appeals⁴⁹. In making this suggestion Northbrook was perhaps influenced by the opinions of the British Indian Association⁵⁰, the leading landlords⁵¹, the prolandlord local press⁵², and a section of the British press⁵³, who since the Pabna rising were clamouring for the appointment of such a commission. The Bengal landlords, however, visualised a special commission which would only help them to tide over their immediate difficulties without making any substantial changes in the rent law⁵⁴. This was quite at variance with the Lt. Governor's views on the subject. Campbell made it clear to the Government of India that if a special commission were merely to give the Zamindars all that they could equitably claim and to leave the whole question open for the future, then he would certainly demur to such arrangement as altogether a one-sided settlement but if the Government of India were prepared to settle the questions in dispute so as to set them at rest for a long time to come he was only too willing to welcome such a settlement⁵⁵. Northbrook was accordingly told "If the settlement is to be effective it must not only get the Zamindars out of their present difficulties, it must bind them for the future."⁵⁶

In fact the Lt. Governor felt strongly that the rent question in Bengal should be thoroughly reviewed and in the process, the entire revenue law of which the rent law was only a part should be consolidated and reconsidered. He, however, apprehended that taking advantage of this the Zamindars might be able to get rid of some of the old landmarks of the permanent settlement so far as they fixed a limitation to the rights and expressed the duties of the landlords. As such Campbell wanted a very careful reproduction of the essentials of the code of 1793⁵⁷.

At the same time, the Lt. Governor, was not prepared to take any special measures against the Bengal Zamindars, namely, the taking over the management of the estates of the oppressive Zamindars, a measure which he had earlier advocated in Orissa⁵⁸. In Bengal, as he felt, this particular question had two sides. The majority of the Bengal Zamindars

had no love for the cares and troubles of management as many of them were absolute landlords. Their primary objective was to derive as large an income as possible with the least risk and trouble. As such the taking over of the management of the estates would actually benefit the Zamindars because under direct government supervision the financial position of such estates would actually improve and the Zamindars would be able to enjoy the increased profits⁵⁹. The Lt. Governor, therefore, doubted whether such an arrangement would be an effective deterrent against mismanagement and oppression⁶⁰ on the contrary the effect might rather be the opposite.⁶¹ Keeping in mind, this possibility, Campbell recommended that a measure of this kind would not be effective unless the Government of India was prepared to accede to some very decided measures, namely to deprive the proprietors of their profits, except a reasonable "*malikana*" (allowance), to enquire and record the rights of the ryots and to secure their position against future tyranny and injustice⁶².

A trusted friend of the occupancy ryots Campbell sincerely wished to improve their lot⁶³. Given a free hand he would have certainly brought about a new tenancy legislation to uphold the tenant right. Yet he had the misfortune to serve under a "Conservative whig", Northbrook who resisted practically all his progressive measures⁶⁴. Consequently, Campbell was not given the opportunity to settle the rent question. The solution of the problem was kept in abeyance till 1885, when it was partially solved by the Bengal Tenancy Act.

ABBREVIATIONS

- B. J. P. P. —Bengal Judicial (Police) Proceedings.
- B. L. R. P. —Bengal Land Revenue Proceedings.
- B. L. T. P. —Bengal Local Taxation Proceedings.
- B. R. P. —Bengal Revenue Proceedings.
- R. N. P. —Report on Native News Papers.
- B. I. A. R. —British Indian Association Reports.

NOTES

1. The contemporary, Indian press persistently opposed practically all the reforms introduced by Campbell. The *Pioneer* noted on the 19th June, 1873 "There is no doubt that G. Campbell is hated, not so vigorously now, perhaps as last year but still hated with sufficient virulence and that by a large number of persons he is despised too." *Saptahik Samachar* (26th July, 1873) noted "Our queen is good, our viceroy is good but such is our fate that our Lt. Governor is a man of different stamp".

2. The official residence of the Lt. Governor of Bengal at Calcutta.

3. The career of Campbell is summarised in Buckland—*Bengal under the Lt. Governors* Vol. II, pp, 482-571. See also Campbell—*Memoirs of My Indian Career*. Ed. C. Bernard, Vols. I & II London 1893.

4. Administration Report on Revenue 1871-72, No. 66. Bengal Revenue Progs. June, 1872.

5. *Ibid.*

6. The *Indian Observer* March 15, 1873.

7. Campbell—*Indian Land Tenures* p. 172. This pamphlet caught Gladstone's eyes and several of its recommendations found their way into the Irish Land Acts of 1870 and 1881 (Indian Economic and Social History Review July 1963). Cf. Sections L II to L X of the Regulations of 1793.

8. *Indian Observer* March 15, 1873. According to Campbell the Regulations of 1793 amply protected tenant right. But in course of time these right became obsolete cf. Campbell-op. cit. : II pp. 295.

9. Colln. 11 No. 6 B. L. R. P. February, 1875.

10. No. 41 B. L. T. P. December, 1871.

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*

13. No. 43 B. L. T. P. December, 1871.

14. *Ibid.*

15. Colln. 11 No. 7 B. L. T. P. July, 1874. *Sulubha Samachar* September, 2, 1873 (R. N. P. 1873) *Prabhakar* 20 August, 1873 (R. N. P. 1873).

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Pioneer* July 15, 1873.

18. The *Hindoo Patriot* July 28, 1873.

19. The *Englishman* August 29, 1873.

20. *Ibid.*

21. The *Bengalee* August 9, 1873.

22. *Dacca Prokash*, August 16, 1873, *Sahachar*, September 1, 1873 (R. N. P. 1873).

23. The *Friend of India*, July 31, 1873.

24. *Halishahar Patrika* (Sept. 5, 1873), *Sulubha Samachar* (Sept. 16, 1873) *Sanbeddak* (Sept. 6, 1873) *Bangabandhu* (August 29, 1873).

25. Misc. Colln. 11 No. 20 B. L. T. P., July, 1874.

26. The *Englishman*, August 29, 1873, The *Hindoo Patriot*, Sept. 1, 1873.

27. The *Bengalee*, Sept. 20, 1873, The *Friend of India*, July 31, 1873, *Som Prokash*, Sept. 8, 1873.

28. The *Friend of India*, Aug. 14, 1873, *Amrita Bazar Patrika* quoted in *Friend of India*, Aug. 28, 1873, *Hindoo Patriot*, Sept. 22, 1873.

29. Misc. Colln. 14 No. 1 B. L. R. P., Jan., 1874. The *Friend of India*, Aug. 28, 1873, The *Hindoo Patriot*, Sept. 22, 1873.

30. Police File 448 No. 8, B. J. P. P. July, 1873.

31. Misc. Colln. 14 No. 6 B. L. R. P., Jan., 1874.

32. *Ibid.*

33. *Ibid.* para. 10.

34. *Ibid.* para. 15.

35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Bharat Bhritya*, Sept. 2, 1873 (R. N. P. 1873).
38. The *Times* quoted by the *Hindoo Patriot*, Oct. 20, 1873,
The *Spectator* quoted by the *Bengalee*, Sept. 27, 1873.
39. Misc. Colln. 14 No. 6 B. L. R. P., Jan., 1874.
40. The *Friend of India*, Oct. 9, 1873.
41. "The *Gram Dut*" quoted in the *Friend of India* Oct. 2, 1873.
42. *Friend of India* Oct. 16, 1873.
43. Misc. Colln. 14 No. 6 B. L. R. P., Jan., 1874, The *Hindoo Patriot*,
Sept. 22, 1873, Oct. 13, 1873, *Indian Daily News* quoted in the *Friend of*
India, Sept. 25, 1873 *Sahachar*, August 25, 1873 (R. N. P. 1873).
44. The *Hindoo Patriot*, Sept. 22, 1873. *Indian Daily News* quoted
in *Friend of India* Sept. 25, 1873.
45. See a letter written by "Grumpy" which appeared in the *English-*
man, July 14, 1873.
46. The *Hindoo Patriot*, Oct. 13, 1873. Misc. Colln. 14 No. 7 B. L.
R. P. Jan, 1874.
47. Misc. Colln. 14 No. 7 B. L. R. P., Jan., 1874.
48. Misc. Colln. 14 No. 10. *Ibid.*
49. Misc. Colln. 14 No. 7. *Ibid.*
50. Progs. of the Half-yearly meeting of the British Indian Associa-
tion held on the 20th Sept., 1873. The Speeches of Digambar Mitra and
Raja Narendrakrishna Deb. (B. I. A. R.)
51. Letter written by Jaikissen Mukherjee, the Zamindar of Uttar-
para, dated the 6th October, 1873, published in the *Friend of India*, Oct.
16, 1873.
52. The *Hindoo Patriot*, Oct. 13, 1873. The *Englishman*, Oct. 9,
1873, The *Sahachar*, 14 July, 1873, 25 August, 1873, *Bharat Bhritya* Sept.
2, 1873, *Sahachar*, Oct. 20, 1873, Oct. 27, 1873. *Hindu Hitaishini*, Nov.
1873, *Saptahik Samachar*, Oct. 18, 1873. (R. N. P. 1873).
53. The *Spectator* quoted in *Bengalee Supplement*, Sept. 27, 1873.
54. Jaikissen Mukherjee's letter, dated the 6th Oct. 1873.
55. Misc. Colln. 14 No. 7 B. L. R. P. Jan. 1874.
56. *Ibid.*
57. *Ibid.*
58. *Ibid.*
59. *Ibid.*
60. *Ibid.*
61. *Ibid.*
62. *Ibid.*
63. *Bharat Bhritya*, Sept. 2, 1873, *Bangabandhu*, Aug. 29, 1873 (R.
N. P. 1873).
64. Buckland—*Op.cit.* pp. 482-571.

Campbell remarked "If he (Northbrook) had come sooner the reform which I had already started would have been decidedly checked and would never have reached maturity". Cf. Campbell—*Memoirs II* pp. 225, 279. N. K. Sinha Ed. *History of Bengal (1757-1905)* p. 300.

OBJECTIVE CORRELATIVE AND THE THEORY OF RASA

K. L. SAHAL

In the words of Ezra Pound 'Poetry is a sort of inspiring mathematics which gives us equations, not for abstract figures, triangles, spheres and the like, *but equations for the human emotions.*' Similarly Stephane Mallarme had pointed out that 'to name an object is to do away with three quarters of the enjoyment of the poem which is derived from the satisfaction of guessing little by little; to suggest it, that is the illusion. It is the perfect handling of the mystery that constitutes symbol to evoke an object little by little in order to show a state of mind, or inversely to choose an object and to disengage from it a state of mind, by a series of unriddlings.'

These two quotations have been given to show that T. S. Eliot must have been influenced by Ezra Pound and the symbolists in the treatment of his 'Objective Correlative',—a phrase which has gained currency to an extent hardly intended or expected by the author.

In the course of his discussion of 'Hamlet and His Problems', T. S. Eliot had said that "the only way of expressing emotion in the form of art is by finding an 'objective correlative'; in other words, a set of objects, a situation, a chain of events which shall be the formula of that particular emotion; such that when the external facts, which must terminate in sensory experience, are given, the emotion is immediately evoked. If you examine any of Shakespeare's more successful tragedies, you will find this exact equivalence; you will find that the state of mind of Lady Macbeth walking in her sleep has been communicated to you by a skilful accumulation of imagined sensory impressions; the words of Macbeth on hearing of his wife's death strike us as if, given the sequence of events, these words were automatically released by the last event in the series. The artistic inevitability lies in this complete adequacy of the external to the emotion." Eliot's treatment of the 'Objective correlative' reminds us of the well-known Dictum by Bharata which reads as follows:—

'The aesthetic emotion emerges as a result of the combination of stimuli, outward manifestations and the transitory moods or feelings.' Bharata in his dictum has made use of a few technical terms which need clarification. Stimulus or Vibhava is of two types. The one is primary stimulus which is the main cause of the arousal of Rasa or aesthetic emotion. The other is the enhancing stimulus (Uddipana Vibhava) which is the environment, the entire surrounding which enhances the emotive effect. If vibhava is the basic stimulus, Anubhava is its behaviour. Anubhavas are the outward manifestations of the Ashraya who enjoys the aesthetic emotion.

Vyabhichari Bhavas are the transitory moods as cited above. In erotic sentiment, woman is the basic stimulus, the garden or the spring season is the enhancing stimulus, amorous glances etc. are the outward manifestations and delight etc. as the transitory but ancillary emotions. Thus in love, joy in union and anxiety in separation are ancillary emotions. Sanskrit rhetoricians have pointed out that sentiment assumes the form of aesthetic emotion through the concretisation of the inward state—in the complex of Vibhava, Anubhava etc. which becomes the objective constellation of stimuli that will arouse the same state in the relisher also.

Sanskrit Poetics generally mentions 9 sentiments or Sthayi Bhavas viz. love, laughter, sorrow, anger, enthusiasm, fear, hatred, wonder and quietness or tranquillity. These sentiments, according to Abhinava Gupta, are abiding inner realities compounded by basic inborn reactivities and latent impressions of experience. In the words of Bharata, "when the prime stimuli, behavioural features and ancillary emotional reactions are represented on the stage, aided by poetry, music and histrionics, the deep seated sentiments is kindled in the mind of the audience and developed to that climax, when, through complete imaginative sympathy with the situation, the audience forgets all differences of person, time and place, and the climax of emotion reveals itself in a sort of blissful consciousness." In the well-known passage on the 'Objective Correlative' by Eliot, "the emotion is the Rasa of Sanskrit poetics, the set of objects the Vibhavas, the situation their patterned, organised presentation and the chain of events include not only the episodic stream, but also the stream of the emotivereactions of the characters to them, the Anubhavas and the Sanchari Bhavas."*

It appears that T. S. Eliot has not thought out the concept of the objective correlative with the precision, penetration and completeness found in the treatment of Rasa by Bharata. Eliot has tried to make a distinction between feelings and emotions. To quote four statements from Eliot

(1) "The business of the poet is not to find new emotions but to use the ordinary ones, and in working them up into poetry, to express feelings which are not in actual, emotions at all."

(2) "Emotions and feelings are the experience, the elements which enter the transforming catalyst, the mind of the poet."

(3) "The effect of a work of art, upon the person who enjoys it, is an experience different in kind from any experience, not of art."

(4) The effect of a work of art may be formed out of one emotion, or may be a combination of several; and various feelings, inhering for the writer in particular words or phrases or imagies may be made without the direct use of any emotion whatever, composed out of feelings solely. Cunto XV of the Inferno (Brunetto Latini) is a working of the emotion evident

* Krishna Chaitanya : Sanskrit Poetics, p. 20.



in the situation ; but the effect, though single as that of any work of art, is obtained by considerable complexity of detail. (Selected Essays—Tradition and the Individual Talent)

It is difficult to reconcile these apparently contradictory statements. The first statement means that the ordinary emotions are refined into feelings by the aesthetic process. The second statement, however, seems to suggest that both emotions and feelings are the initially given realities which further lead to poetic action. The third statement would mean that this final feeling is a new art emotion showing thereby that the aesthetic experience is completely separated from life experience. The fourth statement says that the aesthetic effect is the result of one emotion or may be a combination of several emotions, and various feelings may be added to bring about the final result. Williamson has tried to reconcile all these statements in the following terms :

"If the business of the poet is to use the ordinary emotions and in working them up into poetry, to express feelings which are not in actual emotions at all, it is to be done by associating with the basic or structural emotion a number of floating feelings which will transmute or transform it into a new art emotion," This clarification by Williamson reads like an explanation of the aesthetic dictum by Bharat. The equation will be something like this :

Basic or structural emotion=Sthayi Bhava or sentiment.

The floating feelings=Vyabhichari Bhava and Anubhava or ancillary and derived feelings.

New art emotion=Sentiment exalted to the position of Rasa when it becomes relishable.

The Indian aestheticians, right from Bharata up to the present day, have very systematically explained the minutest details regarding the theory of Rasa but Eliot instead of systematising his theory of objective correlative defined it only very briefly so far as the theoretical treatment is concerned. His practical application, of course, in respect of several works of art will, however, enable us to understand and grasp the theory in greater detail but for want of a scientific analysis ambiguities might loom large and make it difficult for us to arrive at a definite meaning. According to Eliot, Shakespeare failed in Hamlet because in this drama, Hamlet's mother is not the adequate equivalent for the expression of Hero's emotion. Hamlet's emotion transcends his mother who is not a suitable objective correlative for the externalisation of his feelings.

Eliseo Vivas has criticised Eliot by pointing out that the dramatist does not know in advance that the hero will behave in a particular way and will be led by a particular type of emotion. According to Vivas, it is only in the course of writing the drama that the dramatist has an awareness of the feelings and sentiments of the characters he is going to depict. Another critic Winters has found fault with the principle of objective

correlative on the ground that Eliot has overemphasised emotion at the cost of the rational element. To quote his own words "The value of the works of art depends upon the justness of the motivation."

Winters has elsewhere pointed out that the poet tries to understand his experience in rational terms, to state his understanding, and simultaneously to state by means of the feeling, which we attach to words, the kind and degree of emotion that should properly be motivated by this understanding.

In Valmiki Ramayana, the great epic of India, we find that the hunter's arrow had killed one of the two birds and the agony of the bird who had to suffer separation from its mate stirred the poet's sensibility. His emotion burst forth in the form of a metre and the poet was restless to create something significant and sublime. The later story as repeated in the epic amply reveals the fact that great poetry is possible only when unbridled passion is controlled by proper understanding and reason. One critic had said that the creative moment is a reverie in which the agent, like the object is conscious consciousness. It has been said that it is necessary to will and not to will. What indeed had been the creative moment in respect of Shakespeare's Hamlet is difficult to say. So far as I am concerned, I had always enjoyed reading Hamlet and it was only an Eliot who had to point us out that the principle of objective correlative was not properly observed and hence the drama was a failure. Sanskrit poetics might pronounce a different judgment on Hamlet and might highly praise the drama.

I feel I am digressing a bit and hence I will cut short. In India several schools of criticism had made their contribution and out of them Rasa, suggestion, expression, stylistics and Alankar schools had figured prominently. I have cursorily made a few remarks in respect of Rasa theory and the Objective correlative but I somehow feel that our labours will be amply rewarded if the principle of objective correlative be discussed in respect of all the five schools of criticism as enumerated above.

SIXTY-FOUR THOUSAND STUDENTS, TEN PERCENT OF THEM FOREIGNERS : HIGHER EDUCATION IN BELGIUM

(Edited by the Belgian Institute of Information and Documentation)

BRUSEL (Inbel)

Belgium, 11, 779 square miles, nine and a half million inhabitants, has four universities which are all internationally famous because of the high standards they maintain. In addition there are many other institutes of advanced studies which, like the universities, cater for many foreign students too.

The oldest and doubtless the best known Belgian University is the University of Louvain, which was founded in 1426. It is operated by the Catholic Church and, since it was founded, has accommodated many thousands of foreign students, who have helped to build up its international renown. Since the early days, the University has prided itself on the cosmopolitan character of its student body. From the first, this has included French, Italian, Scottish, Swedish, English and even Livonian students.

In the 16th century, the golden age of the University of Louvain, the best known humanist of that period and indeed of all time, Erasmus of Rotterdam, lived in Louvain for some considerable time. It was he who said "I want to be known as a citizen of the world, a friend of all nations of the universe". In one of his letters, he wrote : "No university in Europe can compete with the University of Louvain as to the number of students, except perhaps the Sorbonne in Paris. It already has three thousand students, and more are arriving every day."

The other three Belgian Universities were founded far more recently. In 1812, two state universities were set up, one in the Flemish area, at Ghent, and one in the Walloon area, at Liege. In 1834, the Free University of Brussels (U.L.B.) was set up, based on the principle of "Libre examen" (free enquiry) and in reaction against the monopoly previously enjoyed by the Catholic University of Louvain. In 1856, Thèodore Verhaegen, the founder and promotor of the Free University of Brussels, described its aims as follows : "The professor's teaching is free and is given under his own personal responsibility. The students are entirely free towards their professor, just as he is free towards the Church and the State."

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

Belgium therefore has two State universities, one Dutch-language university in Ghent and one French-language university in Liege; in addi-

tion there are two bilingual free universities, the Catholic University of Louvain (U.C.L.) and the Free University of Brussels (U.L.B.).

It should be explained immediately that the latter two universities enjoy substantial state subsidies.

Meanwhile, in the years 1968 and 1969, agreements were concluded between the Belgian government and the universities of Louvain and Brussels. As a result, each of these have been split into two autonomous universities, one for the French language and one for the Dutch language. The Dutch-language University of Louvain will remain in that city, while the French-language University of Louvain will be established in Walloon territory, chiefly at Ottignies. Both the French and the Dutch language Free Universities of Brussels will remain in the Belgian capital.

In addition to these four (or six) major universities, there are in Belgium two State University Centres, one in the Flemish area at Antwerp, and the other in the Walloon area, at Mons. Both these centres deliver certain University degrees.

Lastly, in addition to the six (or eight) above-mentioned institutions, university education in Belgium also includes the following eight Faculties :

The State Faculty of Veterinary Medicine at Cureghem (Brussels) which was founded in 1836 and where the courses are in French.

The two State Agricultural Faculties, one of which is at Ghent (Dutch language) and one at Gembloux (French language).

The Polytechnic Faculty of Mons (French language), founded in 1836.

The Faculty of Saint-Louis in Brussels (French language), which issues diplomas for "candidatures" in Philosophy and Literature.

The Faculties of Sint Ignatius in Antwerp (Dutch language) which confer "licence" diplomas in Applied Economics and in Commercial Science, as well as "candidature" diplomas in Philosophy and Literature, Natural Science and Medicine, Social and Political Science.

The Faculties of Notre-Dame de la Paix at Namur (French language) which teach Economic and Social Science. They also organize "candidatures" in Philosophy and Literature, in Science, in Natural Science and Medicine, Social and Political Science.

The Catholic Faculty of Mons (French language) which contains a section on Applied Economics and a section on Business Administration.

Lastly, it should be noted that the Royal Military Academy (French and Dutch language sections) in Brussels, comprises a Polytechnic section, the diplomas of which are equivalent to the grade of Civil Engineer, and an All-Arms section, graduates of which are "licencie" in Social and Military sciences.

OTHER FORMS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Higher education of a non-university character includes all technical, art and normal schools which offer advanced studies though not of a uni-

versity level. These establishments are too numerous to be listed here, but they cover extremely varied fields : higher technical education provides courses in technical engineering, business management and many other subjects. Architects, musicians, decorators, engravers, painters, sculptors, etc. can acquire the necessary techniques in the Higher art schools while secondary normal schools train "regents" for the secondary school network.

LEGAL AND SCIENTIFIC DEGREES

The degrees issued by Belgian Universities are divided into "legal" and "scientific" degrees. The only difference between them is as follows : the "legal" degrees entitle holders to enter certain professions in Belgium. This legal protection greatly strengthens the position in other countries of degrees conferred in Belgium.

The "scientific" degrees consist of two different categories. The first consist of degrees corresponding to the "legal" degrees, and the second of purely "scientific degrees". The latter are of particular interest to foreign students. Although such students do not hold the legally ratified Humanities certificate (about which more will be said anon) which is required by Belgian law for recognition of a "legal" degree, they can on certain conditions undertake studies leading to a "scientific" degree as Doctor of Medicine, "licencié" in Science, Engineering, etc.

Academic grades in Belgium universities are awarded in the following order :

The grade of "candidate" which on average is awarded after two years study ;

The grade of "licencié", which is awarded after two further years study and presentation of a memoir ;

The grade of "agregé" for higher secondary education, which gives access to careers in secondary schools ;

The doctorate which is awarded one year at least after the award of the grade of "licencié". It requires the public presentation of an original dissertation and a connected thesis, except in the Faculty of Medicine where it is awarded after the last year's study ;

The degree of "agregé" in higher education : this is awarded two years at least after the end of the candidate's university studies. It requires an original dissertation and three connected theses, which have to be debated in public, followed by an oral lesson.

There are however exceptions to these rules, namely as regards the Faculties of Medicine, Applied Science and Law. The first of these consists of three years "candidature" and four years doctorate ; the second consists of two years "candidatures" and three years of specialized studies leading to the degree of Engineer ; the third requires two years "candidature" and three years "licence".

It should be noted that, as in other countries, higher education in Belgium, both of a university and non-university character, is at present undergoing a period of transition.

STRINGENT CONDITIONS OF ADMITTANCE

In order to protect the high standard of advanced studies, Belgian laws and regulations governing admission to such studies are extremely strict. In principle, higher education of a university or non-university character is accessible to students who have successfully completed their secondary studies, *i.e.*, the six years immediately after their primary studies.

In certain circumstances, the classical or modern Humanities and secondary studies in technical or art schools, are considered to be equivalent. There is no university entrance exam. but students have to complete a dual formality at the end of their secondary schooling: they have to pass their school-leaving exam. and also have to pass a "maturity" test. This latter test is for those students who wish to go on to University.

In the case of foreign students and "legal" degrees, automatic equivalence of secondary schools certificates is only extended to those issued in the Congo (Kinshasa) and in the member countries of the European Economic Community (E.E.C.), namely the Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg, the Netherlands, the German Federal Republic, France and Italy, and to certificates issued by the European schools in Belgium and in the Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg.

As regards nationals from other countries, the recognition of their certificates depends on the cultural agreements those countries have concluded with Belgium. The Cultural Attaches at Belgian Embassies abroad can provide useful information on this point.

However, in the case of "scientific" degrees, the academic authorities at each university and at higher non-university institutes are empowered to take into consideration the secondary studies undertaken by the applicants. They cannot recognize the "equivalence" of a secondary school certificate but are entitled to issue a dispensation.

SIXTY-FOUR THOUSAND STUDENTS, INCLUDING TEN PER CENT FOREIGNERS

For the academic year 1968-1969, the Belgian Bureau of University Statistics listed a total of 64,779 students in Belgian university establishments. Exactly 6,808 of these, or more than 10 percent of the total, are foreign nationals. Why such a high proportion? Because, as a director of International Cultural Relations once said, higher education in Belgium, which has enjoyed a good reputation abroad for over a century and, in the case of Louvain, for more than five centuries, has maintained the high standards which have in the past contributed to its fame.

Students come here from all over the world; as confirmed by the statistical tables of foreign students, classified according to their country of

origin. They have come to Belgium from the five continents. From France, there are 333 students, from Italy 363 and from the Netherlands 497. Most of the Asian countries too are represented in the student body, from Japan with 11 students, to the Lebanon and Iran, with 140 and 98 students. As to America, the U. S. A. alone has sent 581 students, Canada 89 and Brazil, to quote only one Latin American country, 121. Africa too is well represented, although Algeria only has 42 students in Belgium; Morocco on the other hand already has 66 and Tunisia 137; but it is the Congo (Kishasa) which is in the lead, with 822 students.

BELGIAN UNIVERSITIES IN THE WORLD

Belgian universities offer a number of post-graduate study programmes which are closely akin to research programmes. Owing to the present speed of scientific progress, graduates feel an increasing need to keep abreast with new theories, processes and methods, and to some extent this represents a permanent educational process. University faculties are establishing growing numbers of highly specialized sections in order to make additional studies available to graduates or to enable them to acquire a higher degree of specialization. This procedure makes a substantial contribution to scientific research and at the same time it is the first to benefit from the advances made.

Moreover, discoveries in university laboratories and clinics have helped to build up the international renown of Belgian universities. Thus many foreign universities have invited Professor Georges Papy of the Free University of Brussels, to lecture on his new method for the teaching of mathematics. In 1968 this method was first introduced throughout the whole of the Belgian educational network. An international group of fifteen scientists, working under Professor Frenkiel of the Liege State University, has designed an "artificial ear". This is an apparatus which reproduces in absolute figures and hence, in an objective manner, the effects of earphones on ears.

Another Belgian scientist, Doctor F. Van den Bosch who is at present working as a professor at the Faculty of Surgery in the Downstate Medical Center of Brooklyn (New York), has devised an electronic microscope which is capable of carrying out the chemical analyses of living organs within the space of sixty minutes. The German professor Manfred Eigen, co-director of the "Max Planck" Institute of physical Chemistry at Göttingen, in Western Germany, has won the Nobel Prize for his work in measuring the limits of the infinitely small, limits within which accelerated chemical reactions occur. Few people know that the equipment which enabled him to make these discoveries was the work of a Belgian, Doctor Leo de Mayer who is a graduate of the University of Louvain and who is also a co-director of the "Max Planck" Institute. This list could be continued indefinitely.

There are many Belgian scholars and professors whose scientific

research has won them some of the world's most distinguished prizes. Six Nobel prizes have gone to Belgians.

In 1963, the famous Guggenheim Prize was awarded to the Belgian scholar M. Nicolet, a Doctor of Science, for his work on the helium belt in the atmosphere. In 1966, the Doctor Heineken Prize, worth more than a million Belgian francs, which is also one of the world's leading scientific awards, went to Professor Jean Brachet, of the Free University of Brussels, for his work on the biological functions and structure of nucleic acids. His research demonstrated the fundamental role which these acids play in the synthesis of proteins.

Lastly, there are large numbers of Belgian scholars and professors who hold University chairs in the five continents or who have been awarded Honorary degrees by foreign universities.

Perhaps, to conclude, we may be allowed to paraphrase Erasmus and to say : "We Belgian Universities want to be called Universities of the world, the friends of all nations in the universe."

DEMO-DESPOTOCRACY AND FREEDOM *

DR. BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

In the formal logic of analytical political science it may be necessary and desirable to treat democracy as antithesis of despotocracy and despotocracy as antithesis of democracy. But in the normal *Gestalt* of living political forms and political relations democracy and despotocracy supplement and are really complementary to each other. These two groups of values constitute one socio-political complex. The recognition of this complex as a unit in the normal psychology of personality, both individual and collective, is indispensable at the present moment in the interest of clarification of political intelligence.

Among the *idolas* of the nineteenth century which the world is called upon to demolish in the twentieth none is more widespread and conventional than the notion regarding the exclusive or dichotomic character of these two sets of political phenomena. But the data about the factual character-complex of individuals or groups cannot afford to justify the social psychology of politics as handed down since the last century.

THE LEVIATHAN AND CONTRACT SOCIAL OF EVERY POLITY

In a psychological analysis of interhuman relations with special reference to political phenomena the Leviathan of Hobbes should appear to be a stern reality. And this reality should have to be appraised also as eternal and universal, *i.e.*, valid for all ages from the pre-historic epochs until today as well as for all ethnic races or human groups from the most primitive to the hyper-developed. Humanly speaking, it is nothing but force, which ultimately is translatable into sheer physical force, pressure, torture or power, that is at the bottom of the state, however crude, rudimentary, undeveloped or semi-developed, and its two great attributes, sovereignty and law. And wherever there is force there is despotocracy—even if it be on the moral or spiritual plane. For all practical purposes force and despotocracy are almost convertible terms. In other words, the state, sovereignty, law and the allied phenomena are by nature despotocratic. The *danda* (punishment, coercion, restraint or sanction) of which the old Hindu political theorists (Kautilya, Manu, Sukra and others) speak as identical in value with the *rājā* (the ruler or the state) is the basis of all societal existence. It is the instrument through which the Leviathan functions and furnishes the very life-blood of the *Staatsraeson* (reasons or requirements of the state) as analyzed in modern times by Meinecke.¹

If despotocracy is to be accepted psychologically as the very foundation of ordered group-life as belonging to the very nature of things, the question

* A paper for the First Indian Political Science Conference, Benares, December, 1938.

may be asked : Where, then, is the place for liberty, individuality, initiative, free will and democracy in the relations between human beings as individuals, groups or communities ? Can there be such an item of life as *swaraj* (self-rule) in a system of human relationships which by nature is a function of Leviathanic *danḍa*, sanction and *Staatsraeson* ?

The democratic element in every organization of human affairs is furnished by the consent of the individuals constituting its units. The consent is most frequently or rather virtually always tacit or undeclared. But it is impossible to imagine a social system in which consent of the members is not a factor. As soon as there is the play of consent there is the operation of interests, discriminations, selections and rejections. The psychological consent as inevitable in interhuman relations is objectively embodied in contract. As a social item contract may not be self-evident in every institution or express itself in a palpable or aggressive manner. But even in the most simple and primary group-formations, for instance, in the social relations between the individuals, however temporary or occasional they be, the consent of the one finds a *rapprochement* with the consent of the other partner as a matter of course. No contract (based as it is bound to be on consent), no group or no society. And once we are in a position to discern the existence of contract in a societal system, the presence of individuality, free will, liberty and democracy is to be admitted automatically.

Democracy, therefore, is as stern, as eternal and as universal or ubiquitous a reality in societal organizations as despotocracy. The two polarities constitute a moral unit in the *zwischenmenschliche Beziehungen und Gebilden* (interhuman relations and forms), to use an expression from von Wiese,² of all denominations. Hobbes's Leviathan represents then but a partial, one-sided, erroneous and misleading view of the human nature in politics. It is as inadequate and incomplete as Rousseau's *Contract Social* which presents almost the exact opposite picture of interhuman relations. In a realistic analysis of political forms or societal forms of other varieties we should be approximating the truth if we were to detect simultaneously the despotocracy of Hobbes as well as the democracy of Rousseau. Politics, political organisms, political institutions are in reality the functions of democracy as multiplied by democracy. In Indian terminology human nature in politics should be envisaged as implying a system of relations in which *danḍa* (exercise of sanction or punishment) is influenced, modified and multiplied by *dharma*³ (observance of duty and justice). An undemocratic state is as great a contradiction in terms as an undespotocratic state. Democratic and despotocratic tendencies operate together, at the same time and in modification of each other in every political form and relationship.

Democracy and despotocracy are never absolute. Like all other moral and societal phenomena these are conditional, conditioned, limited and relative. Democracy can grow, say, from one to infinity. In the same manner despotocracy also can grow from one to infinity. Infinity is to be

taken in the mundane sense, however. Democracy and despotocracy are like sovereignty and freedom to be understood as substances that admit of doses or degrees. Every polity = democracy^x × despotocracy^y. Psychologically speaking, the "categorical imperative" of Kant, which is alleged to be universal and eternal, is untenable, however magnificent it be as a system of social norms or ethical duties. As against this universal imperative we have to be content with the factual relativities in norms and values. There are categorical imperatives and categorical imperatives. It is in the *milieu* of these moral relativities that we have to place the degrees or doses of democracy. An unalloyed democracy or an unalloyed despotocracy is like the universal imperative of the Kantian assumption or hypothesis to be looked for in a socio-ethical Nowhere.

On the other hand, the brutally sincere and factual psychology of Pareto's *Trattato di Sociologia Generale* (Florence, 1916) is acceptable which denies to human character a natural or necessary harmony, logicity or consistency. Exactly opposite principles may according to Paretian analysis co-exist in the individual or group life giving rise to contradictions and disagreements of all sorts. The presence of emotions, sentiments, passions and so forth in the same mental framework by the side of reason and intelligence is the most fundamental basis of the human *psyche*. It is because of such a discordant and incoherent as well as pluralistic mentality of individuals and groups that the coexistence of despotocracy and democracy finds its natural explanation.

DOSES OF FREEDOM IN THE BRITISH COLONIES AND DOMINIONS

In terms of human values democracy may be taken to be an expression of freedom. And freedom is objectively manifest in democracy. The doses or degrees of this freedom-embodied-in-democracy or democracy-as-a-form-of-freedom are nowhere more patent than in the different states constituting the British Empire or Commonwealth of Nations. The constitutions of the Dominions and the Colonies are undefinable in the simplicist categories of democracy pure and undefiled or of despotocracy pure and undefiled. Each one represents the permutation and combination of all sorts between these two polarities. The most varied types of demo-despotocracy are to be encountered from one end of this hemispheroidal museum of political anthropology and constitutional morphology to the other.

One extreme is represented by Bechuanaland Protectorate and Basutoland in Africa and Wei-hei-wei in North China as well as other Colonies, altogether ten in number, which are not provided with any legislative council. Then there are nine colonies like Hongkong in China, Uganda Protectorate, Northern Rhodesia and so forth in Africa where legislative councils are in existence but without election, all the members being nominated.

The islands of Fiji in the South Pacific and Jamaica and Trinidad in the Central Atlantic and the African Colony of Kenya are like eight others

furnished with legislative councils, of which membership is partly elective but the majority is compulsorily official. In the three Colonies, Ceylon, Cyprus and British Guiana, again, the legislative councils are partly elective but there is no obligation about the majority being official. Finally, the tiny Island groups, the Bahamas and the Bermudas off the East coast of the U.S.A. and the Barbados off Venezuela possess two houses each. The legislative assembly is elected but the legislative council is nominated.

All these 29 Colonies, peopled altogether by nearly 50 million inhabitants, roughly equal to the population of Bengal, scattered over an area of 2,000,000 square miles, are administered by the Colonial Secretary. In the formal logic of political science they are described as regions not possessing self-government. But evidently the Colonial Secretary representing as he does the Leviathanic principle is not the sole factor in these polities, and self-government is embodied in the assemblies and councils in some form or other.

The morphological varieties pointing as they do to the relativities, *i.e.*, doses or gradations of freedom-in-decocracy or democracy-in-freedom, are patent also in the regions like Malta which possesses responsible government in internal affairs but in external relations is controlled by the Secretary of State, and Southern Rhodesia where the government is responsible to the people but is subject to certain limitations regarding the indigenous Africans and is indeed described as a self-governing colony.

As for the full-fledged self-governing Dominions the limitations, however meagre, are embodied in the Secretary of State for the Dominions and the Statute of Westminster. It has to be admitted that charters of liberty, in so far as they are charters, are *ipso facto* documents of limitation, restriction and subjection. In other words, the freedom or sovereignty of the Dominions is not absolute but limited and relative.

THE CHAMBERLAIN-HITLER TÊTE-À-TÊTES AS EXPRESSIONS OF DEMO-DESPOTOCRACY

Equally obvious is the demo-despotic *Gestalt* in those states, which in external relations are hundred-per-cent. free, the so-called powers, great, medium or small. Contemporary political ideology chooses to describe Soviet Russia, Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany as totalitarian states. The creators of these states are proud to call themselves the destroyers of democracy. To be anti-democratic is in their own estimation not a vice but the utmost virtue conceivable. In common parlance these are known to be autocratic, authoritarian, dictatorial and despotic. On the other hand, the United Kingdom, France, the U. S. A., and a host of other states are by themselves appraised as democratic and by the rival system condemned as such.

Yet it should not be difficult to dive deep into modern Leviathans and detect their democratic foundations as it should be quite possible to

be sure of the Leviathanic elements in the alleged democracies of today, as soon as we come down to their brass tags. In the last week of September, 1938 the dichotomy—democracy *vs.* totalitarian state—was very often in the air in connection with the Sudeten German problem of Czechoslovakia. Chamberlain was alleged to represent the democratic spirit while the anti-thesis was supposed to be embodied in Hitler the totalitarian. But the orientations of Chamberlain to the British people may however be analysed under the same conditions of temperature and pressure as those of Hitler to the German people. The democratic spirit of Chamberlain was perhaps apparent in his flying to and fro between England and Germany in order to talk it over with the British people. Humanly speaking, what was Hitler doing all this time ? Most probably he was likewise consulting the *vox populi*.

The manner in which Chamberlain was discussing the international situation with the "people" is not much known to the world. In the same way, nor has the world been vouchsafed to know of the manner in which Hitler was taking it over with the people. Then, again, it may be surmized that the number of British individuals (and possibly institutions ?) with whom Chamberlain came into creative contact during this period was not more than that of the Germans with whom Hitler is likely to have conferred. The world is by all means formally convinced that its peace has been saved virtually by the *tete-à-tetes* of two individuals. The professional democrat or anti-despot and the professional totalitarian despot or anti-democrat should appear then to have been made of the same psycho-political *Gestalt*.

The Leviathan has not yet been thoroughly swept off the British constitution. Nor is the *contract social*, individual liberty, general will, people's voice, democracy or freedom of the people, entirely silenced in the totalitarian *Staatsraeson* of the Nazis.

In spite of his traditional British ideology Chamberlain is a despotocrat. In spite of his Nazi philosophy Hitler is a democrat. Chamberlain knows how to ignore the British Parliament when he wills it. The British Cabinet is indeed an organ of despotocracy. Hitler has deliberately abolished *Parlamentarismus*. But he knows how to serve *vox populi* and obey the popular will.

VOX POPULI IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF INDIA

India is neither an internationally free country like England, France, Germany or Japan, nor a Dominion of the British Commonwealth, nor even a Colony as understood in the British constitution. It is a dependency without camouflage of any sort, and the Indian polity is an embodiment of the total negation of freedom ? Or, positively speaking, is it a specimen of the hundred-per-cent. Leviathanic *Gestalt* ?

We ignore, for the time being, the relations of the British elements as operating in Indian with the British constitution in the U. K. We

are interested in the role of the Indian people in the Indian polity. Let us psycho-analyze the Indian elements in the administration of India since, say, about the middle of the eighteenth century.

The power conferred on the British East India Company by the-then Indian "Emperor of India" (1755) was registered in a *firman* or charter which was by all means a document of *contract social*, general will and *vox populi*. Submission to the exigencies of the times was forced upon the people, no matter what the exact number of the responsible and creative persons, as a deliberate and freely willed course of action. The transfer of power was an act of free choice on the part of the Indian peoples or princes. The people, the folk, the demos did not revolt against the transfer of power from one hand to the other. Nor did it seek to create a new destiny for itself by organizing an alliance with the French East India Company as the rival of the British.

Not only tacitly but in so many words did the people accept the position which gradually grew into one of dependency. It was not before the Wahabi movement (1825-40) of the Mussalmans or the Hindu-Moslem united events of 1857 that the free choice, general will, *vox populi* and *contract social* tried to express themselves in a contrary direction. The orientations of the folk or *vox populi* subsequently took a new form in the Indian National Congress (1885), the glorious *swadesi* revolution of 1905 and the consequent movements for *svaraj* (self-rule). The establishment of the Congress Government in most of the Indian provinces in 1937 exhibits the latest *Gestalt* in the expansion of *general will* or folk-power in the political *milieu*.

Verily, even in a dependency it is possible to detect the march of the demos or the folk from point to point and achievement to achievement. Freedom, therefore, has been growing, expanding, nay, broadening down from precedent to precedent in a sub-continent which possesses neither external freedom nor a Dominion status and is not even a Colony of the British type.

The analysis may be carried to the constitutional and administrative regulations relating to the Indian possessions of the British people since 1757. Each one of the diverse legislative Acts during this period of eighteen decades down to the Government of India Act (1935) is a document which registers step by step, perhaps inch by inch, the processes by which the despotocrat of the Leviathanic *Gestalt* is being influenced, controlled and modified by the forces operating from the people's side, *vox populi*, freedom, self-determination, rights of the masses, the illiterates and the poor. Even in an internationally subject country freedom-in-democracy or democracy-in-freedom is a psycho-political and socio-moral reality, and this freedom or democracy is capable of growth, expansion and evolution. Since the establishment of the Congress-*Raj* in 1937 in the majority of Indian regions.

the demand for freedom, more freedom and still more freedom has not ceased however. Young India to-day as the Young Indias of 1905 and 1885 is crying still :-

We have climbed a height indeed,
But, alas, the highest is yet to come.

Freedom-in-democracy or democracy-in-freedom is then not absolute. It is a phenomenon of doses and degrees, it admits of "more or less," it changes forms and external modes of expression, it implies relativities in value. The other side of the psycho-political *Gestalt*, the despotic factor, the Leviathanic element also automatically follows suit. Despotocracy may very often appear to be absent or it may seem to be the most prominent. It may be once in a while much too outspoken or at times pretend to be non-existent. The constitutional forms may consciously or unconsciously seek to hide it from public gaze in order to give a sop to the *intelligentsia* of a particular brand. But the psycho-analysis of political *Gestalt* cannot be bamboozled into the conviction that despotocracy is a thing of the past anywhere on earth.

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AS EMBODIMENT OF DEMO-DESPOTOCRACY

The Indian National Congress itself, as a power, virtually an *imperium in imperio* to a certain extent, may be subjected to political psycho-analysis. Its constitution today in 1938 is factually almost as despoto-democratic or demo-despotic as it was when first called into being (1885).

The Congress High Command—the Leviathan of Indian freedom movement—has during the entire course of its history comprised from time to time just a few individuals or families, both Hindu and Moslem. These individuals or families are invariably those that represent Bodin's *les nerfs de la république*, the sinews of war, i.e., bullion. The bullion has in certain regions, e.g., Bengal, Bihar, U.P., etc., been mainly feudalistic-zamindari in origin. It has been derived to a certain extent from the upper rungs of the legal profession through out India. The financial resources of the newly established industrial bourgeoisie—capitalistic individuals or families—have also been quite in evidence especially in Bombay.

Whatever be the source, it is this bullion and the power associated with it that have been lording it over the Congress movement from beginning to end. The power of the purse in Congress circles is manifest with equal force in the philanthropic activities of the millionaires who keep some of their favourite leaders and sub-leaders on the go not only with carriages and automobiles as well as travelling expenses but also with *dal-roti* and other paraphernalia of mundane existence and social efficiency or prestige. The moneyed individuals or families have known likewise how to utilize or exploit the idealists, the martyrs, the prophets, the poets, the novelists, the

intellectuals, the so-called natural leaders, the journalists, and the youngmen in order to build up the despotic general staff of the Congress.

The loaves and fishes, whatever they be, the Council-memberships of the entire period or the ministerships of today as well as high-salaried Government positions and titles of honour—have been enjoyed by the richer families among the Congress leaders at the cost, generally speaking, of the patriotic martyrs and self-sacrificing youngmen. This is one side of the shield,—the sinister aspect of Hindu-Moslem leadership in the Indian freedom movement. This analysis would be valid in regard to the Muslim League also.

Could the demos, the *vox populi*, general will, the masses, democracy, however, be at any time overlooked, ignored or entirely suppressed by the Congress institutions, the Congress High Command, or other nationalistic and semi-nationalistic associations of the Hindus and Mussalmans? Never. The very expediency of exploiting the intellectual and self-sacrificing poor men compelled the *Nabobs* of the Congress to cultivate *camaraderie* with the man in the street and enabled the man in the street to hobnob somewhat with the former. Even at the start, for instance, the democratic factors acted as a leaven in the Congress nucleus. Relatively poorer individuals were found useful and therefore acceptable as colleagues. Economic or financial upstarts, the *nouveaux riches* have always succeeded by hook or by crook in making themselves *persona grata* to the Congress oligarchy. Necessarily, therefore, persons with no traditional, hereditary or extraordinary family claims, men of non-higher castes and so forth have had to be taken into the Congress coteries. This is as true of the All-Indian as of provincial and district leadership, both Hindu and Mussalman.

The history of the Congress High Command is thus on a small but appreciable scale a record of class-upheaval and social revolution such as has been going on in the country at large. An outstanding constitutional and social fact is this *digvijaya* (world-conquest) of the demos within the Congress movement, the *charaiveti* (march on) of popular will in the nationalist institutions of India. The steady rise and intrusion of the poorer and inferior classes into the folds of the propertied and the superior have had to be tolerated by the Mussalman leaders as much as by the Hindus. Consequently the acquisition of power in the Congress and the Muslim League deliberations by the lower middle class, non-superior castes, non-dominant races, the Momins among the Mussalmans, and so forth, is a reality, however meagre, in recent times. Indeed, the impacts of the folk of all sorts on the higher and the richer constitute the veritable socio-political and ethico-spiritual background of the nationalist movement in India. This has been the general feature of the movement especially under the influence of the *Swadeshi* "ideas of 1905."

During the last decade or so it is the expansion of the same popular, *contrat social*, democratic and mass power in Indian Congress and Muslim

League circles that we have been encountering. This is being achieved because of the socialistic onslaughts on the Leviathan of the Congress High Command and to a certain extent of the Muslim League authorities. Socialism has invaded the Congress and other nationalist citadels from within and without, as well as from the right and the left, from Amsterdam, Geneva and Moscow. It is to be understood that psycho-socially and in terms of moral and spiritual values socialism, no matter of what brand, is but an intensification of democracy-in-freedom or freedom-in-democracy. Socialism as the cult of power for the unpropertied and the illiterate is the latest form of freedom for mankind in East and West. In India also the exercise and enjoyment of power—political, economic and cultural—not only by the lower middle classes but also by her artisans, workingmen, peasants, pariahs and depressed—whether scheduled or un-scheduled, both Hindu and Moslem, in a substantial and effective manner has grown into the demands of socialism within and outside the Congress institutions.

Contrat social, democracy or folk-power has then been advancing even in its latest and newest forms—although perhaps in homoeopathic doses—in the atmosphere of the Congress Leviathan. The Bastille of Congress despotocracy has never been and bids fair never to be safe from the *charaiveti* of the storm-troopers of the Indian demos.

DEMOCRACY IN SOVIET DESPOTOCRACY

The three notorious Leviathans of today are the formal and professed dictatorships in Soviet Russia, Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. Of these the first is known to be the dictatorship of the proletariat. The others are alleged to be capitalistic dictatorships. For the present we are not interested in the questions of socialism or communism *vs.* capitalism, the proletariat *vis-à-vis* the bourgeoisie, or class struggle as contrasted with class-solidarity. Our main interest is for the time being focused on the democracy-despotocracy dichotomy. We ask ourselves: Are these three despotocracies exclusively despotocratic or dictatorial? Or do even they also exhibit the *contrat social*, the folk-element, democracy?

The constitution of Soviet Russia as defined by the treaty or Act of July 1923 recognizes eleven autonomous republics and thirteen autonomous areas. The democratic features of an autonomy were unknown in Czarist Russia. The soviets or *sabhas* (i.e. assemblies or councils) are the fundamental features of the Russian dictatorship. Membership of these *sabhas* is elective. The suffrage admits one member per 100 inhabitants. And territorially speaking, wherever there is a group of at least 300 persons there is a soviet. Nobody can remain a member for more than one year at a time. The soviets meet twice a week. The meanest soviets of the smallest and poorest rural regions or villages have jurisdiction not only over general administration but also over the police. As for the towns or urban areas

their soviets are entrusted with municipal administration. By the Act of 1935 secret ballot was inaugurated.

Evidently the peasants and workers—the poorer classes— of Soviet Russia have been introduced for the first time to methods by which they can know, feel, taste and exercise political power which even the middle and the higher classes of the Russia of the Czars could not dream of previous to 1917. Add to this that it is these primary soviets—rural, urban and factory—that elect the members of the “provincial” congresses. The members of the supreme congress are elected from the soviets and the provincial congresses.

It is clear that the folk, the masses, the demos can have their hands and poke their noses in everything from the lowest to the highest rung of the political system of Soviet Russia. In so far as suffrage and election are considered to be the keys to or foundations of the democratic philosophy and constitution, it is the height of absurdity to deny the existence of democracy in this dictatorship of the proletariat. Democracy will have to be pronounced to be a reality of Soviet Russian despotocracy. The constitutional developments in Czarist Russia from 1905 to 1917 pale into insignificance before the doses and kinds of freedom and democracy such as are being enjoyed by the Russian masses under the Soviet regime.

The latest constitutional measure of Soviet Russia, the Act of February 1938, has provided for a bicameral legislature in keeping with the traditional principles of “Western democracies.” Under the previous Acts voting was enjoyed exclusively by the poorer *moujikae* (peasants) and categorically denied to the *kulaks* (richer farmers), private traders and the bourgeois classes. They were disfranchized because they were treated as “class enemies.” But in 1938 even these class enemies have been enfranchized. Suffrage has become genuinely universal. Even non-communists have been admitted to suffrage.⁴

THE CORPORATION DEMOCRACY AND FASCIST ABSOLUTISM

Nor do the democratic elements in the Fascist Leviathan deserve to be lost sight of. As in all “Western democracies”, in Fascist Italy also the pre-dictatorial Senate continues to function as the second chamber. The old tradition of liberalism may then be said to be preserved in a formal manner. The *Camera dei Deputati* (400 members) has not been formally abolished as yet although it has lost functional importance on account of the virtual hegemony of a new organ, the Fascist Grand Council (of 24 members) established in 1923. Elections are still in vogue. In 1934, the year of the last election to the *Camera*, over 10 million persons, *i.e.*, nearly one-fourth of the entire Italian population, came to exercise their franchise out of the total number of nearly 10-12 million registered voters. In other words, democratic paraphernalia is quite in evidence.

In the meantime another new organ of a vital significance and influential character came into being in 1926. This is the *Consiglio Nazionale delle Corporazioni* (National Council of Corporations). This body has been modified and reorganized several times in order to cope with the diversities of the economic and social interests and is perhaps after some radical transformations and expansions going to replace the *Camera* itself in the course of the next year. Representation, election, group interests, professional interests, and other items of democratic ideology and polity constitute the very life-blood of these corporations and their National Council.

It is in the primary units of this National Council that *vox populi* or democracy is the most audible in the dictatorship of Fascist Italy. The primary units are the nine *sindacati* (syndicates) and twenty-two *corporazioni* (corporations). It is their representatives that constitute the National Council.

How extensive and profound are the contacts of these representatives and of the National Council with the folk, the people and the demos, although Fascism is formally totalitarian and despotic, will be apparent from an examination of the syndicates. The nine syndicates can be tabulated as follows:—

A. In Agriculture : (a) workingmen : four categories, (b) employers : four categories.

B. In Industry : (a) workingmen : twenty categories (b) employers : twenty-five categories.

C. In Trade and Commerce : (a) workingmen : five categories, (b) employers : thirty-seven categories.

D. In Banking and Insurance : (a) workingmen : four categories, (b) employers : twelve categories.

E. In the Arts and Professions : twenty-two categories.

In the fifth branch there are no categories of workingmen. In the other four branches the syndicates of workingmen function independently of those of the employers. It is from each one of these syndicates, *i.e.*, from those of the workingmen as well as of the employers, that representatives are sent to the National Council.

We shall now analyze the morphology of the twenty-two corporations.⁵ Each and every corporation is a joint body of workingmen and employers. Let us take, for instance, the corporation of chemical trades. It comprises the industry and trade in inorganic acids, fertilizers, explosives, pigments, soap, tanning products, pharmaceutical goods and the other chemical manufactures. The corporation has 68 members among whom the workingmen and employers are equal in number. It is from such corporations each representing the workingmen and employers in the most diverse agricultural, industrial, commercial and professional field that the National Council derives some of its members.

We are not interested in the economic aspects of the corporative organization for the time being. The conviction is, however, forced upon us from the political and administrative standpoint, that it is the power of the *popolo*, the masses, the workingmen, peasants and clerks, that is constantly shaping the destiny of totalitarian and dictatorial Fascist Italy. This is but another instance of a constitution being democratic in spite of the philosophy of its founder. In other words, the *stato corporativo* of Fascist Italy is demo-despotic like so many other states and semi-states of today.

In case the *Camera dei Deputati* is replaced by the Chamber of Corporations next year it will be a parliament of a type not yet known to history as based on professional or occupational representation.⁶ And in any case the Corporative Parliament will serve to confer on the Italian people a democracy the like of which was never conceived by Italian thinkers or statesmen, not even by Mussolini's friend and philosopher, Rocco, in *L'Idea Nazionale* (Rome, May, 1914), or in *Rassegna Italiana* (Rome, 1930), and of course never tasted by the men and women of Italy.

It is worth while to recall that from 1904 to 1915 the Giolitti Ministry did not furnish the Italian people with anything more than a "dictatorial parliamentarism." Thirty million people used in those days to be governed by some thirty persons for the benefit of three hundred thousand families. The Senate was a non-entity and the Chamber of Deputies apathetic. It is in that perspective that the doses of freedom-in-democracy as obtaining in *lo stato Mussoliniano* and in the corporative state of today and tomorrow are to be appraised.

While discussing the democratic or *contrat social* aspect of Fascist corporations attention may be drawn to the Italian scholar Giorgio Del Vecchio's interpretation of these law-making institutions as embodiments of *statualizzazione* (statalization) and as associations almost on a par with the state itself (*Saggi Intorno allo Stato*, Rome, 1935). Del Vecchio's conception of these corporations is to a certain extent influenced by the German jurist Gierke's *Das deutsche Genossenschaftsrecht* (1875). But the medieval guilds of Europe or the *srenis* ⁸ of ancient and medieval India cannot be regarded as precursors of the Fascist *corporazioni*. The old guilds of artisans or traders were masters' associations whereas Mussolini has constructed solidaristic organizations in which employers, workingmen and government officials function together.

THE PEOPLE'S WILL IN THE TOTALITARIAN FUEHRERSCHAFT

The folk-factors, democratic elements and mass-features of the Nazi *Fuehrerschaft* (leaderocracy) are too obvious to be overlooked or ignored. In the first place, Hitler's Nazi Party is known as the *Nazio-nal-sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (National-Socialist German Workingmen's Party). It is as a workingmen's party and a socialist party that it was established in 1920. Its character as a labour organization and a socialistic movement

has never been abandoned. In the second place, from 1920 to 1933 the Nazi party was just a party among the numerous political parties of Germany. It had to fight its way slowly and tediously through the labyrinth of German economic, social and political vicissitudes. Every step that it took was no less legal and constitutional than that taken by the other parties. The methods by which the Nazi Party ultimately defeated the other Parties at the polls and succeeded in conquering the German people, so to say, were legitimate and popular or democratic. It is *vox populi*, the general will, *contrat social*, the plebiscite, the people's self-determination that raised the Nazi Party—first to the position of a power, then to that of a great power, and finally to that of the only power in the internal politics of Germany.⁹ In 1933 the Nazi Party was entitled to describe itself as the People's anointed, nay, almost identical with the people in ideology and number. It is in any case a striking instance of the survival of the fittest established as the result of a lengthy tug-of-war carried on in the open and under the free public gaze.

The character of the Nazi Party as the people's organization has not changed since its conquest of Germany. It is not a one-man show although very often it looks like that. The Nazi *Partei* (Party) is intensely diversified, multiform and hydra-headed. The *Fuehrer* (leader) has a tremendously vast *Gefolgschaft* (following) to attend to and this follower-group is as complex in age-composition, economic and social status, pursuit of interests and professions as the entire German nation. No human being on earth could ever advise, instruct, lead or command so many men, women and children from day to day without at the same time listening to, following and submitting to the wishes, requirements, nay, demands of all sorts and all grades. The impacts of *vox populi*, the mandates of the masses and the classes can under such conditions influence, modify and control the ideals, ideas and ambitions of the leader in a regular manner as a matter of course. The agencies through which the leader is led by the masses are quite large, extensive and varied.

Some of the offices which belong to the *Partei* are those for schools, for professional organization, for civic life, for officials, for law and justice. The storm-troopers' organizations as well as the youth institutions likewise belong to the *Partei*. The automobile unions, the student federations, the women's organizations, the teachers' associations are also regarded as some of the *Partei* organs. Among the *Verbaende* (associations) legally affiliated to the *Partei* are those of medical men, lawyers, social welfare workers, engineers, and technologists. Last but not least there is the *Deutsche Arbeitsfront* (German Labour Front), est. 1933, which comprising as it does the majority of the German people, is one of the organizations enjoying *Partei* affiliation.

The *Partei* is thus an epitome of the entire German *Volk* and is inextricably bound up with it in its morning-to evening functions. The contacts

between the people and the party in Nazi Germany are, besides, brought about by normal constitutional channels, as manifest in the existence of so many permanent offices and associations.¹⁰

The affiliation of the German Labour Front to the *Partei* (March, 1935) is of extraordinary importance as having assured the democratic and mass character of the Nazi state. In the first place, the head of the German Labour Front is the head of the entire organization of the Nazi movement, *i.e.*, of the Nazi *Partei*. In the second place, the word "labour" as understood in the Nazi constitution is all-inclusive. It comprises brain and brawn activities of all denominations. The Front is the organization of all *schaffenden Deutschen* (creative Germans). It comprises every member of the pre-Nazi workingmen's unions, employees' unions and employers' unions. No worker, no clerk and no employer is permitted to stay outside the Front, and the rights of workers, clerks and employers as members of this organization are indetical. In the third place, the intimate legal association of the Labour Front with the *Partei* renders the Nazi state a state of the people for the people and by the people.

Not the least striking feature of Nazi democracy is the *Volksabstimmung*, plebiscite, appeal to the people, referendum, or mandate from the people which is resorted to on all questions of major importance.

A state like the Nazi state of Germany, although avowedly totalitarian and autocratic, could not have been conceived, created, or administered by the traditional despots of the world. In other words, neither the Hohenzollerns from, say, Frederick the Great to Wilhelm II, nor the Bourbons of France nor the Tudor and Stuart autocrats of England, can strictly speaking, be regarded as the ideological fore-runners of the *Fuehrer* of Nazi Germany. The doses and kinds of democracy to which the *Fuehrer* is used were unknown to the God's anointed of Germany, France and England of those days.

The Nazi demo-despotocrat of today has in his socio-political *Gestalt* hardly anything in common with the demo-despotocrats of history. The contents and forms of democracy in the Nazi Leviathan are *sui generis*.

A THIRD EMPIRE FOR REPUBLICAN FRANCE

In spite of all seeming *digvijayas* (world-conquests) of dictatorship the expansion of democracy is then the most outstanding fact of societal organizations and theories throughout the world. A verification of this standpoint may be found in the ideology of Professor Otto Koellreutter's *Grundriss der Allgemeinen Staatslehre* or Sketch of General Political Theory (Tuebingen, 1933) and *Deutsches Verfassungsrecht* or German Law of the Constitution (Berlin, 1935).

The conceptions or rather hopes of a French author for his *patrie* may likewise be cited as another verification. In 1934 was published at Paris Professor Emile Lasbax's *La France ira-t-elle à un Troisième Empire?* (Is France moving towards a Third Empire?)

Entire social existence exhibits the rhythm of three items, and this rhythm repeats itself in history, says Lasbax. In the political domain the triad consists of royalty, republic and empire in succession. The regime of royalty is followed by that of republic and the regime of republic by that of empire. But royalty, republic and empire are to be taken as constitutional types of a very general character. Each is capable of denoting the most diverse varieties of political experience.

In this conception of the political categories it would be absurd according to Lasbax to take all imperialisms as nothing but Bonapartist imperialism. Each and every variety of imperialism is not to be taken as belonging ideologically to the "right" or as equivalent to putting republican legality to sleep. There is such a thing as *l'imperialisme démocratique* in Seillière's terminology.

The "balance of history" furnishes us today with *coup d'Etats* leading to authoritarian governments bolshevism, fascism and national-socialism, such as involve the destruction of the liberty of individuals. A new "civism" has been developing which represents the philosophy neither of the "subject" of old monarchies nor of the "citizen" of modern republics. And this does not appear to be transient or transitory. These dictatorships have come to stay and cannot be regarded as constituting a danger to established order.

It is not in the irrational impulses of a crowd that the explanation of these phenomena is to be sought but in the vital processes of a social organism. Communism and reaction against communism—these two conflicting currents among the peoples have come to a common platform of mutual solidarity. One does not encounter here the caprices of individuals like Lenin, Mussolini and Hitler. Rather, it is the powerful collective forces operating in the depths and not on the surface of society that are incarnated by these individuals.

The cycle of royalty followed by republic and of that again by empire does not happen arbitrarily or by accident. It represents a vital rhythm corresponding to the rhythm of individual lives: infancy, puberty, youth, manhood, etc. In politics as in individual life every transition implies a crisis and this crisis can be "foreseen" and "treated" by the biologist, the hygienist or the medical expert. There is in this sense such a thing as the medicine of societies which should be able to declare that no regime of political life is destined to be eternal or that a regime which was necessary and valuable in the past is not likely to be useful in the future. The political regimes cannot be changed, postponed or prevented at one's own sweet will just as one cannot possibly alter the succession of infancy, adolescence, etc. The succession of the three political regimes has been seen in ancient Greece, ancient Rome as well as twice in French history down to 1789-1870.

From 1870 to 1875 the constitution of France was factually royalist, prepared as it was for King Henry V, Count of Chambord.

It was not before 1875 that the republic was formally proclaimed although the constitution continues to be republican only in name. Sociologically, then, the cycle is now ripe for an empire, believes Lasbax as prophet.

The dictators of today do not have to catch the imagination of the masses by riding a black horse in the uniform of a general with a hat of white feathers, says he. They are clothed in the daily dress of the ordinary citizens, the democratic costume of the parliamentarians. Indeed, they made bold to frequent the lobbies of Parliament. Nay, it is not to the "right" that they care to address their charms and sorceries but to the "left."

According to Lasbax, the progressive march towards the empire is already in evidence in France. The Senate is becoming more influential than the *Chambre des Députés*. The social conscience of the French people is getting used to ordinances, decrees, full powers, etc., of the government. The Legislature is being sacrificed inch by inch to the Executive.

The empire as conceived by Lasbax is an intermediate form of government. It is a mixture of royalty and republic. It is a synthesis of contraries.

The empire of Bonaparte was an original synthesis of the royalty of Louis XIV and the republican reforms of the Convention (1793). The Second Empire synthesized the bourgeois monarchy of Louis Philippe and the plebiscite suffrage of the National Assembly (1848). Exactly in the same manner a new imperialism, when it makes its appearance in France, is bound to combine the parliamentary monarchism of Henry V (the original constitution of 1875) with the subsequent achievements of the present Third Republic after it has successively passed through conservatism, radicalism, radical-socialism and socialism.

The French people finds itself today in the *milieu* of the birth-throes of the Third Empire. And the pivot of this imperialism in France, in Germany under Hitler, is communism or socialism, the latest phase of economism,¹¹ not the forms, more or less monarchistic, of old spiritual sovereignties or theocracies. And it is here that the Third Empire encounters on a common ground the "neo-socialism" to today which is trying to get itself relieved of Marxist extremism and the materialistic excesses of Marxian ideology.

Relativities in the Demo-Despotic Gestalt

The categories used in Lasbax's discussion are different from those in the present paper. But it is interesting to observe that while Koellreutter in his interpretations of the Nazi constitution is stressing the *Volk* (folk) basis of the *Fuehrerschaft* (leaderocracy), Lasbax's orientations incline him to the belief that the Leviathan is advancing and desirably advancing in his French democracy. The *rapprochement* between democracy and despotocracy is the common feature in the ideology of the German and the French scholars.

Inductively speaking, then, as analytically also we are led to the thesis that hardly anywhere on earth has there been ever a pure Leviathan or a pure *contrat social*. A realistic analysis of political structures and ideologies, forms and relations presents us invariably with an amalgam of the two. The political *Gestalt* of the groups, tribes, races, nations and so forth can be explained only by a new synthetic approach which could try to combine the conflicting principles of Hobbes and Rousseau and adapt the *rapprochement* to the diverse conditions of the regions and the ages.

The synthesis or juxtaposition of *danda* and *dharma* should be considered to be the fundamental key to the explanation of the diverse expressions of political life in the two Hemispheres and through all the epochs of human life.

There are men who are ashamed of despotocracy as there are men who are haters of democracy. On the other hand, the name of persons going mad over democracy is legion just as it is not difficult to come across persons who are frank in the eulogy of despotocracy. But in the realistic view of political psychology and political sociology democracy cannot do without despotocracy and despotocracy cannot do without democracy. The two polaristic categories constitute the irreducible minimum of the political *Gestalt* of mankind.

The co-existence of conflicting tendencies in the individual *psyche* and the so-called group-mind can be well illustrated objectively in the cycle of practically every revolution in the world's history. Revolutions as a rule have had their radical or extremist phases followed by contrary currents or movements.¹² The socio-political reactions do not take excessively long periods but make their appearance in a very few years, nay, few months, as in economic crises or industrial fluctuations. The waves of extremism and moderatism in the English revolution of 1640-60 as well as of the French revolution of 1780-1815 are well known. The extremist Leninism (1918) of Soviet Russia also had to cry halt at the New Economic Policy of 1922, i.e., at the third or fourth year. Since then there has been going on a period of Leninism No. II., i.e., a reaction towards moderatism which is being conducted with success under the Stalin regime.

It is the pluralistic *Gestalt* of the mind as understood by Ribot, Pareto, Freud, Thorndike, McDougall and other psychologists that should appear to be the *milieu* and foster-ground of diametrically opposite categories like mobocracy and autoocracy, mass-rule and tyranny, liberty or license and restraint or coercion following each other in quick and short transitional stages. The human mind, individual or collective, may be said to be quite capable of assimilating the reaction almost as easily or swiftly as the revolution. The regime of reason and the regime of emotion, sentiment, instinct, the unconscious, etc., can be digested almost indifferently and simultaneously by individuals and groups. The naturalness and inevitable character of demo-despotocracy and despoto-democracy are to be oriented to this fundamental pluralism of the human mind.

But at this stage it is necessary to practise caution in regard to the universal application of the demo-despotic or despoto-democratic formula. Every polity has been found to be a function of democracy^x multiplied by despotocracy^y. But the values of x and y vary. They differ from region to region, group to group, race to race, as well as from age to age. The demo-despotic features may be universal and eternal. But the *Gestalt* of each polity is different from that of the others. Each is marked by an individuality, idiosyncrasy, "group-personal" equation. In terms of political morphology there are demo-despotocracies and demi-despotocracies. Demo-despotocracy is relative and conditional. The individualities, divergences and relativities are occasioned by the differences in the doses and forms of the democratic elements as well as the difference in the doses and forms of the despotic elements constituting each and every polity. The variations in the *Gestalt* are the results of diversity in the atoms, molecules or strains of the two orders of socio-moral values go to form every constitutional amalgam.

The atoms, molecules or strains in each of the three Leviathans of today are so varied that morphologically it would be extremely difficult to trace any family likeness between the Russian soviets, the Italian corporations and the *Varbaende* (associations) of the German *Fuehrerschaft*. We have already noted likewise that neither the "new monarchy" of the British Tudors and Stuarts nor the "absolutism" of the French Louises, not even the Hegelian authoritarianism of the Hohenzollerns can be cited in the same breath as the *Fuehrer* polity of the Nazis.

It would, again, be morphologically untenable to establish an equation between the democratic features of contemporary demo-despotic England, France, U.S.A., etc., and those of demo-despotic Soviet Russia, Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, or those of the British Colonies, the Government of India and the Indian National Congress.

The psychologico-analytical as well as inductive-realistic study of the political morphologies should convince us that the presence, survival or even expansion of the Leviathan, the *danḍa*, should not blind anybody to the reality of the growth and expansion of *contrat*, *social*, *dharma*, folk-power, democracy and mass-energism. Despotism, absolutism, totalitarianism may persist and may change forms. But all the same, power, privileges, manhood, freedom, chances for initiative, individuality, self-assertion are descending all the time from the lap of the gods, the upper ten thousands, into the hands and feet of the pariahs, the slaves, the paupers, and the illiterates. The progress, expansion or world-conquest (*digvijaya*) of democracy and socialism as phases of individual and collective freedom is one of the most solid items in the balance of societal developments.

CREATIVE DISEQUILIBRIUM vs. STATUS QUO

In the interest of further progress in regard to the conquest of freedom it is for the energists, idealists and futurists¹³ of every region, group or race

to exhibit their yearnings after New Heavens by initiating creative disequilibrium of all forms adapted to the socio-economic and ethico-cultural conditions of their conjunctures. *Nanasrantya srirasti*, as says the *Aitareya Brahmana* (VII, 15) of Vedic literature. Prosperity is not for the person that is not tired with wanderings and movements. It cannot be desirable for mankind to rest at any point in the path of progress or of freedom. The struggle for freedom is eternal in every nook and corner of the two Hemispheres. So is freedom-preparedness.

Not even Indians—whether Hindu or Moslem—can be expected to remain ignorant of the methodology of progress or the dialectic in the conquest of freedom. The process belongs to the very nature of power as an individual and social force. Privileges and rights have hardly ever been surrendered by the upholders of the *status quo* to new individuals, races, groups, castes, or classes. The world is used to climbing like corals grave by grave that have a pathway sunward. In India as elsewhere freedom has to be wrested from the powers-that-be, inch by inch or mile by mile, as the case may be. Methods of sweet-reasonableness or attempts at mutual understanding in the relations between the vested interests and the challenging individuals or groups are rare in the annals of freedom, democracy and socialism. The Indian people *vis-à-vis* the administration as well as *vis-à-vis* the natural leaders, the Congress and other nationalist and patriotic associations has been but repeating the cosmic processes of conflicts between individuals, families, groups or classes.

Mankind has never learnt anything from the past experiences nor seriously understood the lessons of history. Perhaps the only lesson of history that is worth while to be remembered points to the fact that sweet-reasonableness is generated among the superior races, ruling classes, High Commands and so forth, if at all, only under exceptional circumstances. It does not make its appearance until and unless the individuals or groups capable of producing creative unrest, disharmony and disequilibrium have effectively demonstrated to the world that they are strong enough to extort justice, fair dealing, powers and positions from unwilling hands. At every stage in the struggle for or conquest of freedom there is the eternal problem of creative disequilibrium *vs. status quo*, i.e., a challenge to the questions closed.*

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⁴ For the constitutions of Czarist and Soviet Russia see H. E. Barnes : *History of Western Civilization*, Vol. II (New York, 1935), Pp. 985-93 ; B. K. Sarkar : "Stalin as the Manager of Leninism, No. II" (*Calcutta Review*, September, 1938).

⁵ G. Bortolotto : *Diritto Corporativo* (Milan, 1934) Pp. 67, 115-21, 159-75, 178, 535, 633-42 ; B. K. Sarkar : "The Corporative State," "The Corporations and Syndicates of Italian Economy" (*Calcutta Review*, October, 1933, August, 1938).

⁶ Benoist : *La Crise de l'Etat Moderne* (Paris, 1907) ; Lautaud and Poudeux : *La Representation Professionnelle* (Paris, 1927) ; B. K. Sarkar : *Political Philosophies since 1905* (Madras, 1928), Pp. 181, 193, 197.

⁷ For the pre-War political thoughts and movements in Italy see G. Volpe : *L'Italia in Cammino* (Milan, 1931). Pp. 93-113, 145-56, 205-08.

⁸ See the chapter on "Srenis (Gilds) of Peasants, Artisans and Merchants" in B. K. Sarkar : *The Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus* (Leipzig, 1922).

⁹ B. K. Sarkar : *The Hitler-State* (Calcutta, 1933) ; "The People and the State in Neo-Democracy" (*Calcutta Review*, July, 1936).

¹⁰ G. Ruehle : *Das Dritte Reich*, Vol. II (Berlin, 1934), Pp. 267, 277-79, 344 (*Volksabstimmung*) ; Vol. III (1935), Pp. 64, 81, 141-53 (*Deutsche Arbeitsfront*) ; O. Koellreutter : *Deutsches Verfassungsrecht* (Berlin, 1935), Pp. 145-46, 142-52 (*Führerschaft*) ; 185-87 ; B. K. Sarkar : "The People's State as conceived by Van den Bruck and the Third Reich of Today" (*Calcutta Review*, February, 1937).

¹¹ B. K. Sarkar : "The New Labour Laws and Socio-Economic Planning in France" (*Calcutta Review*, June, 1937) ; cf E. de Seilliere, *L'Imperialisme democratique* (Paris, 1907).

¹² A. Jaassain : "Le Succes des partis extrêmes dans les revolutions" (*Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, Paris, May-June, 1938) ; P. Sorokin : *The Sociology of Revolution* (New York, 1925) ; B. K. Sarkar : "Prosperity and Depression" (*Indian Economic Journal*, Allahabad, July, 1938) ; W. E. Hooking : *Man and the State* (New Haven, 1926), Pp. xi, 49-50.

¹³ B. K. Sarkar : *The Science of History* (London, 1912).

* Reprinted from *The Calcutta Review* (January, 1939).

LANDSLIDE AND THEIR ALLIED PROBLEMS

KUMAR BANERJEE

We often hear of landslides in the mountains. The occurrence of this phenomenon is generally accepted as a natural calamity, just like floods, cyclones, storms, typhoons or earthquakes. This kind of mental attitude is medieval in conception and may be deeply rooted in a layman's subconscious estimate. But a student of Geology should tell in popular language what it actually means in practical science. In case of unexpected floods, storms and earthquakes little perhaps can be done except to forecast in some cases and be prepared for the eventuality. In case of some types of landslides, however, there is a difference in that they could not only be forecast but prevented to a certain extent by effective action. There are various causes and different aspects of the landslides. In common parlance a landslide means a sudden disruption. Whatever the causes, it is wellknown that a landslide big or small may result in loss of life and destruction of property. Even a small slide in a populous place may bring much devastation. These receive greater publicity. On the other hand, a big slide in an uninhabited difficult terrain may go unnoticed because there is no loss of life or damage to property. But viewed from a scientific angle this slide has a greater significance in the study of landslides. In our country landslides are confined to the hill ranges particularly in the Western Ghats, the Eastern Ghats, the Satpuras, the Aravallis and the Himalayan ranges bordering India on the north and Assam ranges in the east. The frequency and magnitude of landslides are more in hills of the Extra Peninsular region and the Assam hills where the rocks are comparatively younger in age and they, at present, are also in various stages of compaction. Being set in an unstable region affected by earthquake forces, they are more susceptible to landslide movements.

It should be made clear that the Himalyan region forms one of the most vulnerable areas for the occurrences of slides. Sometimes, the debris from these slides temporarily obstruct the streams and rivers by blocking their channels and form artificial reservoirs. Then at a later date without any warning release large quantities of water and boulders bringing devastation to the areas down below. The Teesta flooding its upper reaches in Sikkim and causing slides in recent years and massive slides in the Manipur hill stream are but two examples.

The slides have a great impact on river valley projects. Let us now see in brief, the landslides affecting some of them. Soil slide occurred near the surge shaft of the Nerimangalam powerhouse, Kerala State. It occurred in July, 1960. Only the top soil mantle and some decayed rock beneath

was removed. The slide uprooted trees and silt material filled up the floor of the powerhouse under construction. The explanation given for the slide is, that 10 inches of rainfall was recorded in the first week of July, 1960 there. It added considerably to the ground water increment in the area, where the loosely compacted soil was already under saturated conditions.

The second instance is landslide near Leimakhong power and Imphal water supply scheme, Manipur State. Here again in the first week of June, 1962 there was heavy rainfall in the Western hill ranges of Manipur, which consist of thinly laminated soft shales. This caused floods followed by landslides in the hill ranges. The debris that accumulated blocked the streams and then at later stages, pronounced the flood damage. As a result, the weir, bridges and the power house at Leimakhong were all washed away.

Next we may see the landslide in Jaldhaka Hydel Project area, Darjeeling district, West Bengal State. Landslide occurred at the intake point of the high weir during monsoon, 1964. Here excavation for the weir foundation removed the toe support. We find precipitation being the primary cause, removal of base material aggravating it. Precautionary measures to stabilize the slope by diversion of surface water, afforestation and like methods have been suggested. There were several debris slides within the project area. The most prominent debris slide was located on the left bank of the Jaldhaka river, opposite the powerhouse. The slides comprise mostly of terrace material overlying the hard rocks.

Next we come to the problems of landslides in the selection of check damsites across Sun Kosi and Tamur rivers, Nepal. Old landslides have been observed along the Sun Kosi and the Tamur Valleys. Of the many reasons accorded to the slides heavy rainfall, indiscriminate deforestation are two of them. Detailed studies pertaining to the landslides, adoption of soil conservation measures and collection of silt and rainfall data have been suggested to evolve a programme of suitable remedial measures to check further the development of landslides.

We have thus reviewed in brief some of the river valley project's problems regarding landslides and how they affect them. Reverting to the problem of landslide as a whole we may mention that in the Himalayas due to frequent landslides in their upper reaches, most of the Himalayan rivers carry a lot of sediments. This has a great bearing on the multipurpose projects under execution and those that are proposed in that area. Excessive sediments from the catchment areas conveyed into the reservoir reduces its live storage. As an example, the Kosi river may be cited which is known to carry high sediment load to Kosi Barrage at Birpur, which as per estimate will no longer function effectively if the large quantities of sediment discharged into it are not controlled. We have seen in the foregoing paragraphs landslides affecting some of the National enterprises. The natural question that will present itself is whether landslides can be prevented. The answer to this is largely in the negative. Recent investiga-

tion on their prevention is however, encouraging. Prevention as we know is a difficult issue. We will conclude this discussion by giving an example of landslide prediction. In the Beas Satlej Link project, Himachal Pradesh there has been an interesting occurrence of prediction of some landslide. During excavation of the Bharari adit of the project, it was noticed that there were dominantly weathered out-crops of carbonaceous shales with limestone lenses, a couple of minor slides took place and a number of open cracks developed. The development of these tension cracks and their accelerated rate of growth required immediate examination of the local environs. Detailed examination revealed that a deep seated slide was expected. Thereby the likelihood of danger to the work area could be predicted to a certain extent.

KINGSHIP IN ANCIENT INDIA

S. R. SAHA

(A paper presented before the Meerut Conference of the Indian Political Science Association in 1970).

The earliest legend on the origin of Kingship in ancient India occurs in the *Aitareya Brahmana*, one of the later Vedic texts, perhaps of the 8th or 7th century B. C. This tells how the Gods and demons were at war, and the former were suffering at the hands of their enemies. Then the Gods met together and decided that they needed a raja to lead them successfully in battle. Along with the great God Prajapati, they deliberated that they should consecrate Indra to Kingship because he was the "most vigorous, the most strong, the most valiant, the most perfect, who carries out best any work." Thus, Indra was installed to Kingship and the tide soon turned in favour of the Gods. This tradition about the origin of Kingship in war against the Asuras is also very vaguely referred to in the *Satapatha Brahmana*. "For sooth we are in an evil plight, the Asura-Raksas have come in between us ; we shall fall a prey to our enemies. Let us come to an argement, and yield to the excellence of one of us". They yielded to the excellence of Indra:

Hence, the legend suggests that in the earliest times Kingship in India was thought to be based upon human need and military necessity, and that the King's first duty was to lead his subjects in war. This idea that Kingship has to be justified in terms of the performance of the duties assigned to it, had a great influence on later political thought. But "despite this implicit notion of the institution of Kingship being related to some need or necessity, the Brahmanas as a body of literature exerted their profound influence on the development of the ritualistic sacrificial system of worship rather than on political philosophy".¹

There is another theory regarding the origin of Kingship in ancient India. It is found in the tradition about the "Great Elect" of the Buddhist Jatakas. It is said that in the early days of the cosmic cycle mankind lived, in a sort of fairy land, in a state of 'idyllic happiness' as in Rousseau, where there was no need of food or clothing, or of private property, family, government or laws. "Then, gradually the process of cosmic decay began its work, and mankind became earthbound, and felt the need of food and shelter. As men lost their primeval glory, distinctions of class (*Varna*)

¹ Studies in Hindu Political thoughts its Metaphysical Foundations—by V. P. Varma, p. 174. Second Ed.

arose, and they entered into agreements one with another, accepting the institutions of private property and the family. With this theft, murder, adultery, and other crime began, and so the people met together and decided to appoint one man among them to maintain order in return for a share of the produce of their fields and herds. He was called 'the Great Chosen one' (Mahasammata), and he received the title of raja because he pleased the people"². Thus, the story of the 'Great Elect' implies that the main purpose of Government is to establish order, and that the King, as head of the government, is the first social servant, and ultimately, dependent on the suffrage of his subjects. Since the 'Great Elect' receives his authority from the people, there is the assumption that political authority originally lies in the people who pay him a fixed portion of their produce. But perhaps, it would be a gross exaggeration if the concept of the Mahasammata is construed to mean that according to Buddhism, political authority is based on consent. It is true that some sort of consensus is implicit in Buddhist theory, but consent always implies an exact notion of popular rights and liberties, which are not specifically or even indirectly mentioned in this connection.

However, in ancient Indian thought on the question of the origin of Kingship, two theories are evident—the mystical and the contractual. According to Professor Basham, "in thought, if not in practice, it was the mystical theory of Kingship which carried most weight with succeeding generations"³. Kautilya in his *Arthashastra* had little time for mysticism; but he recognized that legends about the origin of Kingship had propaganda value. According to him, only 'Rajadanda' or the legally—established coercive power of the King is the guarantee against the resurgence of anarchy symbolized by the law of fishes (*Matsyanyaya*). He said that people, suffering from anarchy, as illustrated by the proverbial tendency of a large fish swallowing a small one, first, elected Manu, the Vaivasvata, to be their King, and allotted one-sixth of the grains grown and one-tenth of the merchandise as royal dues. Kautilya thus encouraged a contractual theory in regard to the origin of the institution of Kingship. There is frequent reference to the 'law of the fishes' in Hindu political works. It is referred to in the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata*, the *Manu Smriti*, the *Kamanda-Kaniti*, and the *Matsyapurana*.

In this connection, it may be relevantly noted that there is the old *Smriti* conception of the relation of protection to taxation. In other words, taxation imposes upon the ruler the obligation of protection. "The idea that Kingship has been instituted or protection is one of the cardinal tenets of Hindu political philosophy. Again and again, it is referred to in *Manu*,

² Vide—The wonder That was India—by A. L. Basham, p. 82-1963 Indian Edition.

³ Vide—The wonder That was India—by A. L. Basham, p. 82.

in the Mahabharata and in Sukra".⁴ Though Kautilya stressed on the necessity of 'protection', he cannot be called an individualist. For he justifies the power of the King not for the protection of the individual, but for the preservation of caste groups. The central point of interest in Hindu social and political thought is not the self-sufficing isolated and atomistic individual, but the organic community divided into four varnas and four Ashramas.

The justification of political power in terms of protection in Kautilya's thought leads to some important conclusions for the political conduct of a King. First, Arthashastra urged upon a disciplined King to devote for the good of all living beings. This is one of the most significant moral principles of Hindu ethics. The Upanishads and the Gita, the Puranas and the Buddhist Scriptures are permeated with a universalistic ethical philosophy. The classic notion of their ethics is the doctrine of universal Ahimsa-non-violence. While advocating aggrandizement of royal power, Kautilya upholds the fundamental tenet of Hindu ethics that power must be used for the protection of the weak. Though the idea of the greatest good of the greatest number of human beings is absent in Hindu thought, it lays emphasis on the good of the universal living beings. This universal applicability of ethical principles imparts a deep moral character to the ancient Hindu thought. Second, Kautilya was not a believer in the arbitrary exercise of royal power. He urged upon the King the necessity of being guided by the principles formulated in accordance with Dharma. He had a great respect for the canons of truth and justice. The third basic political principle in Kautilya's idea of government is the doctrine of political paternalism and enlightened royal idealism. The Arthashastra declares that "whatever pleases himself the King shall not consider as good, but whatever pleases his subjects he shall consider as good."⁵ As Dr. V. P. Varma has correctly pointed out: "This paternalism is not to be conceived in terms of the arbitrary power of interference of the King in the social life of the people, but as a factor constituting the philosophical ideals of Kingship."⁶

Besides Arthashastra of Kautilya, Sukranitisara also contains significant ideas of Kingship in ancient India. These are largely based on the thought of the older writers, but they present some points of remarkable, if not original, interest. Sukra is a great believer in the doctrine of Karma, for, he says that Karma alone is the cause of good and evil conditions on this earth—that men are directed towards virtue and vice by means of

4. vide—Studies in Hindu Political Thought—V. P. Varma, p. 188 Second Ed.

5. vide—Advanced History of India—by Majumdar, Roy Chowdhury and Dutta, p. 126. 1950 Ed.

6. vide—Studies in Hindu Political Thought—by V. P. Varma, p. 191.

desires assuming such forms as would help the fulfilment of deeds done in a previous birth, and that most certainly everything happens in accordance with such deeds. This doctrine is applied by Sukra to explain the basis of the King's authority over his subjects. The King acquires his prowess and becomes a protector and director, and the source of delight through his austerities, and he sustains the earth by his deeds done in a previous birth as well as his austerities. This repeats the idea of Narada that the King's authority is derived from his own Karma. Lordship, it is told, is the reward of austerities, while servitude is the penalty for sin. Sukra further says that the King represented the best human and divine attributes—those of the father, the mother, the preceptor, the brother and the friend as well as the Gods Kubera and Yama. Sukra, similarly, supports the notion of Manu-Smriti and the Mahabharata about the influence of the King upon the time-spirit (Zeit-geist). According to him, the King stamps himself upon his Age through his enforcement of the customs and duties of the people by the arm of his political authority. In this connection, it is of interest to compare this idea with that of the Mahabharata that the King is a maker of the 'Age-Cycle' through the degree of his performance as well as non-performance of *dandaniti*.

As regards the idea of mutual relations of the ruler and his subjects, Sukra repeats Kamandaka's verses relating to the basic significance of Kingship in fulfilling the popular needs. In his view, the security and prosperity of the people and in short, their complete life depend upon the intellectual and moral qualities of their ruler. According to Sukra, the people like the Queen of Indra must never be without a Lord. In the light of this mythological conception, the obligations of the subjects towards their ruler should be understood. For example, the people should salute the King, when they visit him, as if he were an incarnation of Vishnu. They should also honour the King along with the Gods, the ascetics, the preceptor, the fire and learned men. On the other hand, Sukra supports the King's obligations towards his subjects with the usual moral and spiritual sanctions. Thus, he includes in a category of three persons whom the Gods kill and cast down, the King who fails in his duty of protection.

In one significant respect, Sukra's idea of Kingship is novel. For, he draws, practically for the first time among our ancient thinkers a sharp line of contrast between the divine and the demoniac types of rulers. The King who is righteous, is a portion of the Gods, while his reverse, who oppresses the people, is a portion of the demons. Sukra applies the philosophical doctrine of the three qualities of substances to Kings. According to him, there are three types of austerities, namely, those marked by 'Goodness' (Sattvika), 'Darkness' (Tamasa) and 'Passion' (Rajasa); and the King assumes his distinctive character according as he practises very much one or other of them. Sukra, after defining the three types of rulers, declares that the Sattvika King assimilates the particles of the

Gods, the tamasa type those of the demons and the rajasa type those of men.⁷

Regarding his attitude towards the old Smriti idea of the rights of the subjects as against their rulers, Sukra says in one place, Brahmanas incur no sin by destroying very wicked Kshatriyas even by fighting them with weapons. This attitude repeats an important principle inculcated by Bishma in the Mahabharata—the Brahmana's right of armed resistance against very oppressive Kshatriyas. But as regards the rights of the people in general against their ruler, Sukra counsels resignation to the will of a bad King as to the unnatural acts of parents and the inscrutable ways of Providence. This theory of resistance stands in sharp contrast to the theories of resistance given by Prof. Laski, Mahatma Gandhi and T. H. Green. However, Sukra is not consistent in his idea about resistance. For, in another place, he concedes to the peoples' representatives the right of deposing the bad ruler. "If the King, although high born, becomes averse to good qualities, policy and strength, and is unrighteous, he should be repudiated as the destroyer of the Kingdom. In his place the 'Purohita' should install a virtuous prince of his family for protection of the subjects after obtaining the approval of the latter."⁸ In this connection, it is relevant to note that Lakshmidhara's writings are completely conspicuous by their silence on the question of justification of the subjects in resisting their evil ruler.

The above theory of resistance against unrighteous and wicked Kings, put forward by some ancient political thinkers, demonstrates the utter weakness of the divine character of Kingship. Masson—Oursel writes, "Kingship, then, is a purely human institution, and claims no divine right. There is only an analogy between Gods and Kings."⁹ Altekar suggests that only good and pious Kings were regarded as divine, while bad and impious ones were called demoniac.¹⁰ There are, however, those who deny that the King was considered divine at all. N.C. Bandyopadhyay says that in the Indian society, "the King could neither claim divinity, nor had he any prerogatives"¹¹ But as has been well said by John W. Spellman.¹² "To view Kingship in ancient India merely as a human institution is to ignore a great many passages to the contrary in various texts."

7. vide—"The struggle for Empire"—Pub : Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, p. 273.

8. Quoted in "The Struggle For Empire"—Pub : Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, p. 274.

9. vide—Ancient India and Indian Civilisation—by P. Masson-Oursel, p. 91.

10. vide—State & Govt. in ancient India—A. S. Altekar, p. 62.

11. vide—Development of Hindu Polity & Political Theories—by N. C. Bandyopadhyaya, p. 94.

12. vide—Political Theory of ancient India—by John W. Spellman, p. 26. Pub : Oxford University press, 1964.

For example, the divine character of Kingship received wide acceptance in the Gupta period. In the Allahabad Pillar inscription, Samudra Gupta is not only represented as equal to Kuvera, Varuna, Indra and Yama—the presiding deities of the four quarters, but is considered to be the Incomprehensible Being who is the cause of creation and destruction, a God dwelling on earth, who was mortal only in that he performed the acts necessary according to the conventions of the world. Further, in the literature of the age, the King is considered to be the incarnation of Justice and the representative of Vishnu, that is, God in his aspect as the preserver.¹³ In this connection, R. Shamasastri remarked : “This much is certain that neither during the Vedic period nor in the times of Kautilya divine birth or right of Kings seems to have been thought of”¹⁴.

Leaving aside the controversy centreing round the divine character of Kingship, it can be almost categorically stated that the doctrine of Karma as an ubiquitous law of moral determinism affected all living beings in including the King ; and hence stood in the way of emergence of the idea that the King was responsible to God alone for his acts. The philosophy of Karma is based on the inexorable efficacy of action. Every action must necessarily and inevitably produce its consequences. Thus, Kingship constructed on the foundations of this concept of Karma would refuse to accept that matters of politics are of special concern to the King and God alone. The law of Karma is definitely against any royal pretension to special divine mission. Dr. V. P. Varma has cogently said in this connection : “By emphasizing the notion that a man could even transcend the Gods by virtue of his noble and spiritually-oriented actions, the doctrine of Karma was a powerful factor, repudiating the idea of any fundamental qualitative distinction between divinity and humanity.”¹⁵

We are now in a position to discuss whether the Hindu King was a despot or wielded only limited authority. The Western idea of Supreme power unrestrained by law, as developed by Bodin, Hobbes as well as by the Austinians, would not obviously hold valid in a society in which ‘Dharma’ and not the state was considered Supreme. It would be a mistake to consider the Hindu Kings as autocrats. In ancient India, there was the prevalence of the supremacy of the laws of God, of primeval norms and ordinances and of the teachings of the religious prophets and seers ; which even the most masterful of the rulers viewed with deep respect. The stories about rebellion against the oppressive rule must have served as a standing reminder to the secularly-minded King tempted to flout the Sacred Law. More than

13. vide—Advanced History of India—by Mazumdar, Roy Chowdhury and Dutta, p. 191.

14. vide—The Evolution of Indian Polity—by R. Shamasastri, p. 145.

15. Vide—Hindu Political Thought—V. P. Varma, p. 252.

one great dynasty, such as the Nandas, Mauryas and Sungas, fell as a result of Brahmanic intrigue. The Mahabharata explicitly sanctions revolt against a King who is oppressive or who fails in his function of protection, saying that such a ruler is no King at all, and should be killed like a mad dog.¹⁶ Further, the people were an important element (*prakriti*) of the state. They were looked upon as children (*praja*) for whose welfare the head of the state was responsible, and to whom he owed a debt which could only be discharged by good government.¹⁷ The ideal ruler is he who "possesses an inner soul pervaded by the inclination for the acquittance of debts and obligations, and is occupied with the welfare of all mankind." The Chinese pilgrims, Fa Hien and Hiuen Tsang ; the Arab merchant, Sulaiman ; and the Venetian traveller, Marco Polo ; bear testimony to the fact that the governments of Chandra Gupta II, Harsha, Bhoja I and Rudramma (Rudramba) actually tried to translate this noble maxim into practice.¹⁸ Another and very important check was public opinion. The epic exhibits as an ideal that a King should even give up his dear wife if asked to do so by his subjects. We know from the Ramayana that Rama had to bow down to the dictates of popular opinion and exiled his wife Sita. Thus, shackled with these checks and limitations and subjugated under the great constitutional power of the Paura-Janapada, with a conscience trained to be prone to listen to the voice of the people, the position of the King was really that of the Servant of State. He was virtually a constitutional slave. Even the Hindu Hobbes, the great monarchist Kautilya, would not allow the King to have personal likes or dislikes. "A King has no personal likes : it is the likes of the subjects that should be followed by him"¹⁹. Moreover, there was a certain amount of decentralisation notably in the spheres of local government, legislation and administration of justice in the rural areas. The existence of autonomous communities, urban and rural, political and economic, social and religious, put a limit, in normal times, on the exercise of authority by the Supreme executive.²⁰ If we make a teleological study of the Hindu Monarchical state, it becomes crystal clear to us that it was a 'trust', created for the prosperity of the people. And, if the object of the trust is not fulfilled, the trustee is "to be shunned like a leaky ship on the sea", according to the Santi-Prava of the Mahabharata.²¹

On a close examination of all the aspects of Kingship in ancient India, we find that the Hindu thinkers did not concern themselves with the ana-

16. Vide—The wonder that was India—by A. L. Basham, p. 87—1963 Ind. Ed.

17. Vide—Advanced History of India—by Majumdar, Roy Chowdhury & Dutta, p. 125.

18. Vide—Advanced History of India—pp. 191—92.

19. Vide—Arthasastra, Book I, Ch. 19 ; 16 (p. 39).

20. Vide—Advanced History of India, p. 125.

21. Quoted in 'Hindu Polity' by K. P. Jayaswal, p. 342. Fourth Edition.

lysis of the significant problems of political philosophy on an advanced theoretical level. They did not study the relationship between the individual and the state, which is a distinct element of modern political thought. Their primary objective was to lay down the duties of the King and to prescribe to him pragmatic rules for political and imperialistic success. Even the Arthashastra of Kautilya was only a systematic work on the art of public administration. In this sense, there is a close resemblance with the 'statecraft' of Machiavelli. Dr. V. P. Varma has rightly pointed out that "the ancient Hindu thinkers concentrated on Staatskunst and not on Staatswissenschaft."²² He said further, "the metaphysics of Karma and Dharma made impossible the emergence of certain political problems like the individual versus the state, or politics versus ethics, or the conception of the political responsibility and accountability of the King to the people."²³ In spite of this, there is a fundamental spiritual and moral tone in Hindu thought which is unique in that it proclaims the sanctity of the individual human personality. This indubitably constitutes a significant contribution to world political thought.

22. Vide—Studies in Hindu Political Thought—by V. P. Varma, p. 255, Second Ed.

23. Vide—Ibid.

THE GOVERNOR : HIS POSITION IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM

Mira Ganguly
Bangendu Ganguly

The President of India has recently appointed a five-member committee to study and suggest norms and conventions to be followed by the Governors. This committee will examine, *inter alia*, the constitutional provisions relating to the appointment of the Council of Ministers, the summoning, prorogation and dissolution of State legislatures and the criteria for assessing the failure of the constitutional machinery in a State.¹

It may be recalled that the President suggested at the last Governors' Conference² that a small committee be set up for formulating clear norms and conventions and this suggestion was generally accepted. Departing slightly from their previous position, the Governors appeared to be willing to accept loose norms for their guidance. But they still maintained their opposition to rigid principles.

There can hardly be any doubt as to the need for clarification in this sphere, for the constitutional provisions relating to the position of the Governors are not sufficiently clear. Under Article 154 the executive power of the State, vested in the Governor, is to be exercised by him either directly or through officers subordinate to him. In the opinion of the judiciary, ministers are officers subordinate to the Governor. In *R. v. Shibnath Banerji*³ it was held that a minister was an officer subordinate to the Governor within the meaning of s. 49 (1), Government of India Act, 1935. The Privy Council held that it was beyond doubt that a minister was an officer subordinate to the Governor. In *Rao Shiv Bahadur Singh v. State of V. P.*⁴ the Supreme Court expressed the view that the Privy Council's opinion was decisive. As sections 7 (1), 49 (1) 10, 51 17 (2) and 59 (2) of the Government of India Act, 1935, corresponded to Articles 53 (1), 154 (1), 75, 164, 77 (2) and 166 (2) respectively, it may be held that ministers are officers subordinate to the President and the Governors within the meaning of Arts. 53 (1) and 154 (1) respectively. Further, unless ministers were officers subordinate to the President, they could not exercise executive power which is vested in the President, and which is to be exercised by him either directly or through officers subordinate to him. For the same reason, ministers are officers subordinate to the Governors within the meaning of Article 154 (1).

Though our Constitution does not lay down in categorical terms that the Governor's powers are to be exercised always by the ministers, the intention of the architects of the Constitution was to make the Governor

a mere nominal head. In November, 1949, two prominent members of the Drafting Committee and the President of the Constituent Assembly reiterated that the proposed Constitution provided for the setting up of the cabinet system of Government both at the Centre and in the States. It may be noted here that all the members of the Provincial Constitution Committee of the Constituent Assembly expressed the view that the Governor should be a constitutional head of the State executive⁵. So, whatever might be the language of our Constitution, the framers intended to establish the cabinet system of government. Our Supreme Court also expressed the same view in *Ram Jawaya Kapur v. State of Punjab*⁶ : "...the Governor...occupies the position of the head of the executive in the State but it is virtually the Council of Ministers in each State that carries on the executive Government. In the Indian Constitution, therefore, we have the same system of parliamentary executive as in England and the Council of Ministers consisting, as it does, of the members of the legislature is, like the British Cabinet, 'a hyphen which joins, a buckle which fastens the legislative part of the State to the executive part.' The Cabinet enjoying, as it does, a majority in the legislature concentrates in itself the virtual control of both legislative and executive functions ; and as the Ministers constituting the Cabinet are presumably agreed on fundamentals and act on the principle of collective responsibility, the most important questions of policy are all formulated by them."

Dismissal of Ministers :

Clause (1) of Article 164 says that the ministers shall hold office during the pleasure of the Governor⁷. This clause should be read with clause (2) of the same Article which says that "the Council of Ministers shall be collectively responsible to the Legislative Assembly of the State"⁸. It is thus abundantly clear that the term "pleasure" as contained in Article 164 (1) does not mean subjective pleasure of the Governor. On the contrary, it implies his constitutional pleasure, which is dependent on the pleasure of the Legislative Assembly. A close scrutiny of the Constituent Assembly debates shows that it was the intention of the Constitution makers that the ministry would hold office so long as it has the confidence of the majority. The makers wanted to set up parliamentary government both at the Centre and in the States.

It may be noted here that Article 144 (6) of the draft Constitution ran as follows : "the functions of the Governor under this Article with respect to the appointment and dismissal of Ministers shall be exercised by him in his discretion". (Article 144 of the draft Constitution corresponded to Article 164 of the present Constitution). The very fact that this provision was deleted shows that the makers of the Constitution wanted the Governor to be a mere figurehead.

The legal issues connected with the power of the Governor to dismiss

his ministry were brought to a head when the Governor of West Bengal dismissed the United Front Ministry headed by Ajoykumar Mukherji in November, 1967. At the beginning of November, P. C. Ghosh, State Food Minister, resigned and the Governor informed the Chief Minister that several other members of the Assembly had also defected from the United Front. He told the Chief Minister and his colleagues that he had doubts as to whether the Ministry retained its majority. He advised the Chief Minister to summon the Assembly into session as early as possible to settle the issue. The Cabinet considered the Governor's suggestion and decided to convene the Assembly on December 18. But the Governor asked the Chief Minister to call the Assembly into session not later than November 30. The Cabinet expressed its inability to accept the Governor's suggestion for an early Assembly session. It decided to request the President, through the Chief Minister, to refer under Article 143 (1) to the Supreme Court for clarification of the issue of the Governor's discretionary power. The President soon informed the Chief Minister of the Centre's decision to reject his request. The Centre felt that the Constitution was clear on this issue and the gaps in the Constitution could be filled "by political conventions and a flexible interplay of political forces". On November 21, the Governor dismissed the U. F. Ministry and on the same day P. C. Ghosh's ministry was sworn in.

In *M. P. Sharma v. P. C. Ghosh*⁹ the legal problems involved in the dismissal of the U. F. Ministry were argued on a petition for *quo warranto*. It was contended that under Article 163 (1), the Governor was under an obligation to act on the advice of his ministers, and as the ministry had been dismissed without such advice and a fresh ministry appointed, the fresh ministry did not lawfully hold office. It was contended that in any event the Governor could not dismiss the ministry till it had been defeated in the House, for under Article 164, the ministry was collectively responsible to the legislative assembly. In rejecting these contentions Mitra, J. held :

- (1) Article 164(1) does not impose any restriction or condition upon the power of the Governor to appoint a Chief Minister, though the appointment of other ministers has to be made on the advice of the Chief Minister. Therefore, the appointment of P. C. Ghosh as Chief Minister was not open to objection on the ground that the outgoing Chief Minister had not advised such appointment. After new elections or on a dissolution of the legislature, there may be no Chief Minister in which case it could not be contended that a Chief Minister could not be appointed.
- (2) The Ministry holds office at the Governor's pleasure, and Article 164(1) places no fetters on the Governor exercising his pleasure. The provision relating to ministers is a special provision within

the meaning of Art. 310(1) and it does not fetter the pleasure of the Governor as Art. 311 does.

- (3) Under Article 163(2) the Governor is constituted the sole judge whether any power was required by the Constitution to be exercised in his discretion, and the courts were precluded from deciding that question.
- (4) The decision of the Privy Council in *Adejbenro v. Akintola*¹⁰ did not help the petitioners, because apart from the fact that the provision of the Nigerian Constitution was materially different, even so the Privy Council had interpreted it to mean that the Governor's power to remove the Premier from office was not limited to a vote of the House, and that he could act on any other information. Under our Constitution, the powers of the Governor are much wider.

With due respect to the Calcutta High Court, it may be submitted that the decision of Mitra, J., appears to contradict the spirit of the Supreme Court's decision in *Ram Jawaya Kapur's case*. It may also be mentioned here that Article 33(10) of the Nigerian Constitution provides, *inter alia*, that the Governor shall not remove the premier from office unless it appears to him that the premier no longer commands the support of a majority of the members of the House of Assembly. As we have already noted, our Constitution also provides for collective responsibility of the Council of Ministers to the Legislative Assembly. Powers of an Indian Governor do not appear to be "much wider".

Discretionary Powers

Under Article 163(1) the Council of Ministers is to aid and advise the Governor in the exercise of his functions "except in so far as he is by or under this Constitution required to exercise his functions or any of them in his discretion." It is of interest to note that similar discretionary powers were sought to be vested in the President by an amendment moved in the *Constituent Assembly*.¹¹ But Ambedkar opposed this amendment on the ground that the President would only have "certain prerogatives but not functions" and hence no situation could arise when the President would be called upon to discharge his functions without the advice of the Prime Minister or his cabinet.¹² It is not clear why the makers thought it necessary to vest the Governor with discretionary powers which they withheld from the President. Some members of the Constituent Assembly held that discretionary powers should not be given to a nominated Governor who holds office during the pleasure of the President.¹³ But this objection was not entertained and discretionary powers were indeed vested in the Governor. It is strange, however, that the makers did not think it necessary to specify all the situations when such powers could be exercised by the Governor. Article 163(2), reproduced from the Government of India Act, 1935,¹⁴ is delightfully vague.

The Constitution specifies only a few occasions when the Governor is to exercise his discretion. In many cases the Governors have, in reality, exercised discretion ; and all such occasions cannot be said to have been covered by the two prepositions "by" and "under".

The only instances of functions required *by* the Constitution to be exercised by a Governor in his discretion are : the powers of the Governor of Assam under Paragraphs 9 and 18 of the 6th Schedule and the functions of a Governor appointed to be an Administrator of a Union Territory under Article 239(2).

A Governor may also have to exercise functions in his discretion *under* the Constitution from time to time. For example, if there is no stable majority in the legislature, he may have to select a Chief Minister, exercising his discretionary powers. A Governor, again, may not, without instructions from the President, promulgate an Ordinance if he would have deemed it necessary to reserve a Bill containing the same provisions for the consideration of the President. This power of the Governor to reserve a proposal of the State Council of Ministers to issue an Ordinance, for instructions from the President, is one that he exercises in his discretion. There cannot be any doubt as to the decisive role which the Governor is called upon to play prior to the promulgation of an emergency by the President under Article 356. If the President's rule is to be promulgated because of a breakdown of constitutional machinery, it is primarily the task of the Governor to assess the situation and inform the President whether there is any need for Presidential intervention. Although the Governor will get the advice of the ministry in this respect, he need not be bound by it. The cabinet may be against Presidential intervention whereas the Governor himself favours it. Under such circumstances, if the Governor is to recommend to the President his intervention, the Governor can do so only if he acts in his discretion.

The role of the Governor in introducing the President's rule in the State is particularly important because it fully highlights the contradiction in the Indian federal scheme. The head of the State Executive takes steps for wiping out State autonomy, instead of strengthening it.

APPOINTMENT

A Governor plays a dual role : he is an agent of the Central Government, at the same time he is the constitutional head of the State Government. This becomes clear from the constitutional provisions relating to the mode of appointment of the Governors. Under Articles 155 and 156, the Governor is appointed by the President and holds office during his pleasure. The provision for a nominated Governor was, however, adopted by the Constituent Assembly only after a good deal of controversy.

At the very beginning of the Constituent Assembly two diametrically opposed views were expressed at the joint sitting of the Union Constitution Committee and the Provincial Constitution Committee. Some thought

that India as a whole should adopt the American model while others favoured the British model. Ultimately, however, it was decided that the British model should be adopted both at the Centre and in the units.¹⁵ Some people felt that if at any time it was impossible to form a majority government either at the Centre or in a unit, a strong President and a Governor elected on the basis of adult franchise would lend stability to the government. But in April, 1949, the two committees met again and decided against an elected governor.¹⁶ One of the reasons for this decision was that an elected Governor might seek to override the Chief Minister.¹⁷ Some of the members of the Drafting Committee felt that the "co-existence" of a Governor elected by the people of the State and a Chief Minister responsible to the Legislature of that State might lead to friction and consequent weakness in administration.¹⁸ Various proposals regarding the appointment of the Governor were put forward in the Assembly and one of them was that the State Legislature would elect a panel of candidates and the President of India would appoint one of them as the Governor. But this suggestion was not favoured. The opinion of the majority was in favour of a nominated Governor. Nehru himself was against an elected Governor. He stated in the Assembly : "I feel that if we have an elected governor that would to some extent encourage that separatist provincial tendency more than otherwise. There will be fewer common links with the Centre."¹⁹ After much deliberation the Assembly decided in favour of a nominated Governor.²⁰

It ought to be pointed out here that the nominated Governor with the backing of the Centre, may also clash with the State Government and may seek to override the Chief Minister. It was to avert such a clash that the United Front Ministry in West Bengal asked the Centre in March, 1969, to call back Governor Dharma Vira. After some hesitation the Centre did take back Dharma Vira, though technically speaking he was "granted leave" and an acting Governor was appointed in his place. The next Governor was chosen but he did take up office at once. So the acting Governor continued to function. This brought into focus another anomaly in the Constitution. Though the Governor is granted leave by the President it is the State Government that has to pay his salary. As long as Dharam Vira was on leave and the next Governor did not take over charge the State Government had to pay for two Governors. So there was legitimate cause for grievance when the Union Government extended the leave of Dharma Vira as Governor of West Bengal without even caring to consult the State Government.²¹

It was assumed by the Constituent Assembly that appointment of State Governors would in practice be made only with the consent of the Government of the State concerned. And the convention has indeed been established that the State Government is consulted even if the choice of the Centre may not always coincide with that of the State.

Another convention which has become fairly well established is that of appointing residents of other States as Governors "in order to ensure that they are above the party and group politics of the State".²² In reality, however, this makes the Governor a more loyal agent of the Centre. He depends more on the Centre because he has no roots in the State.

It is obvious that the Governor plays an important part in placing the States under the control of the Centre. If India is to be turned into a real federation, the Constitutional provisions should be changed. Articles 155 and 156 should be amended to make the post of the Governor elective. The Governor should be elected by the Legislature of the State concerned and should hold office during the pleasure of the Legislature. Article 154 also should be changed to delete the words "either directly or" and the executive power should be exercised only through officers subordinate to the Governor—that is, the ministers. The Constitution should lay down in clear terms that the Governor is to act always on the advice of the Council of Ministers and that the latter holds office during the pleasure of the Legislature concerned. The Governor should not have the opportunity of working as the agent of the Centre. His position should be reduced to that of a figure-head.

It is sometimes argued that the Constitution should be regarded as sacrosanct and frequent changes in the Constitution involve considerable social cost. But such an argument is not based on sound logic. If we take into consideration the social cost involved in constitutional amendments, we must also calculate the social benefit to be accrued therefrom—and, at least in the case of the provisions relating to the Governor, the outcome would favour an amendment.

NOTES

1. The committee consists of the following members : Bhagwan Sahay (chairman), V. Viswanathan, B. Gopala Reddi, Ali Yavar Jung and S. S. Dhavan.

2. Held in New Delhi on November 20 and 21, 1970.

3. 71 I. A. 241.

4. (1953) S. C. R. 1188, 1210.

5. Replies to Rau's questionnaire, *Prasad papers*, File 4-P/47, cited in Austin, G., *The Indian Constitution : Cornerstone of a Nation*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1966, p. 117n.

6. (1955) 2 S.C.R. 225, 236-7.

7. Cf. Art. 75 (2).

8. Cf. Art. 75(3).

9. (1968) 72 C.W.N. 328.

10. (1963) 3 All E.R. 544 (P.C.).

11. *C.A.D.*, vol. VII, December 30, 1948, p. 1145.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 1158.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Eternity in Words—Sri Aurobindo's Savitri—by Rameswar Gupta—Chetna Prakasan, Bombay — with a foreword by Dr. V. K. Gokall, Vice-Chancellor, Bangalore University—44, Yusuf Building, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Fort Bombay—1—Cloth bound — Rs. 24/- or \$ 8 or Shilling 50 Paper back Rs. 16/- or \$ 6 or Shilling 34.

Sri Aurobindo, poet, patriot, philosopher, saint, sage and seer, was not only the last of the Romans, one of those great Titans of a resurgent nationalism whom Bengal had given to India and India to the World but he was also one of those creative idealists who had unleashed spiritual and moral forces. He had the rare vision to see that in a world full of misery and mischief, chaos and confusion, hate and spite, neither a maimed life of monastic seclusion nor a mad orgy of insensate activity were enough to salvage the lost human heritage with divine afflatus and here was the need for a single eye within, for a mental and supramental synthesis and for a total integral approach. Spiritual growth did not so much consist in rituals and rites as in those silent hours of self-communion which helps us to control our character, build our personality and transform our self. We cleanse our thoughts, purify our emotions, let the seed of spirit grow and withdraw from the shackles of conscious thinking in a lower dimension. It is not merely the growing sense and appreciation and knowledge of the Divine. It is the identification. *Savitri*—Sri Aurobindo's magnum opus— of an epic climb had tried to capture the rapture of that eternity in words, in legends, in Symbols, and it has grown with the poet's own evolution. *Savitri* was still being re-edited and recast when Sri Aurobindo passed away. It was begun half a century ago.

Earth's uplook to a remote unknown
Is a preface only of the Epic climb
Of the Human Soul to an Eternal state

There have been attempts by learned and earnest men all over the world to understand and appreciate Sri Aurobindo and his philosophy. His poetry has attracted attention, his *Savitri* particularly which according to Sri Aurobindo, is blank verse without enjambment (except rarely)— each line a thing by itself and arranged in paragraphs of one two, three, four, five lines (rarely a longer series), in an attempt to catch something of the Upanishads and Kalidasian movement so far as that is a possibility in English. The poem, Sri Aurobindo admits, was originally written from a lower level, a mixture perhaps of the innermind psychic, poetic intelligence, but it grew in its width, scope and dimension along with Sri Aurobindo's spiritual growth. — Sri Aurobindo taught us that human intelligence, has to rise to an intuitive

mentality. It should no longer be content to regard the intellect and the world of positive fact as the be-all and end-all of human experience but there should be a seeking for a greater and more comprehensive vision, not mere 'unsubstantial poetic philosophising' where there is a lack of actuality and a reality of touch and force of vital insistence. Dr. Rameswar Gupta of Banasthali Vidyapith has done a service to the intellectual world by re-interpreting *Savitri* in his own way—its verse, rhythm, diction and its imagery and symbolism. The contents of his book — originally a doctoral thesis— amply show this. From the biblical concept that "In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God and the Word was God" he traversed through Eternity in words with the help of '*Savitri*' and discusses various points such as "Is the poet's Eternity now and here? What is the definition of poetry? Is poetry an organic process? Is the poet's world an illusion? What are the future trends? One need not agree with all his conclusions in entirety, but one is bound to be impressed by his creative endeavour to appreciate a strange necessity of the inner being to articulate in rhythmic tones the visions of reality. *Savitri's* theme has also been analysed and the questions are well put (a). Is it another make-believe? (b) Is it escapism? (c) Is it prophetic? and (d) Do we assent to the truth embodied there in?

I am reminded here of Sri Krishnaprem's comment that Sri Aurobindo's achievement in this great poem is one of which it is not easy for us to grasp the full significance. It is not a mythological poem and ancient myth—as often as not even believed used as a back cloth against which to display poetic virtuosity. Neither is it a philosophical poem, an exposition in verse of doctrines whose more natural vehicle would be prose. Nor again is it mere literature, to be evaluated according to the canons of traditional or even modern poetry the uniqueness of the achievement lies in the fact that Sri Aurobindo has closed a gulf that has yawned in the human psyche for many and "many centuries. "Truth consciousness" has again been revealed—of life broadened, raised and illumined and in Sri Aurobindo's own words in his *Future Poetry* amidst not merely a air shot with its seekings and glimpses, (we had seen the trends in Wordsworth, Shelley, Walt Whitman, A. E. Blake, Tagore and others) but a sight and cadence found in psychospiritual heaven of subtle and delicate soul experience transmuting the earth tones by the touch of its radiance, and well-established.

Savitri's technique has also been discussed, its structural organisation, its overlone inspiration, language and imagery. An appendix gives us a concise and clear indication of Sri Aurobindo's thought, the care of Sri Aurobindo's teaching—the mystery of the Divine descent and becoming matter and matter's ascent into divinity. Sri Aurobindo is a great optimist. To him the world has a future and it is neither doomed nor past cure for the simple reason that it is not that the world has been merely created by God but that God has become and is the world at the sametime. So '*Savitri*' is

the divine epic of a new world and new humanity and it is a world classic' by the very weight of its thought and the novelty of expressing it in legends and symbols. It has a cosmic grandeur, however much we may try to overlook it and dismiss it by a wave of the hand. The Rose of God has to bloom, like a blush of rapture on Eternity's Face and we say

O Word, cry out the immortal litany
Built is the golden tower, the flame child born

Sounds of awakening world which a student in St. Paul's London heard as a boy in 1887 and saw that deep light of heaven above the trees later became aware of his occult omnipotent source and in his bosom nursed a greater dawn.

His prophetic words still ring true "It was the supreme misfortune of India that before she was able to complete the round of her experience and gather up the fruit of her long millenium of search and travail that her national life broke into fragments. There is still an unexhausted vitality in her. She yet nourishes the seeds of rebirth and renewal. Will she yet arise and combine the past and continue the great dream where she left it off, shaking off on the one hand the soils and filth and recast on the other her own In doing so lies her one chance of salvation.

Dr. Rameswar Gupta is to be congratulated that in a world of revaluation of values, of committed issues, he has set us rethinking. It has not been as Dr. Gokak says of love's labour lost. There has to be a marriage between this wordly and other wordly ideas not in the pontifical way of Blake when he speaks of the marriage of heaven and earth but by helping to create a bridge between the rapture and the calm in a chant of creative Fire. Critics will say all these are words. Calmness and creativity are but phases of tension. What is a parable of Dawn, or a Niche of veiled divinity but mere poetic imageries like Keats' 'Casements opening on the foam of perilous seas'. No, these are images realized in Eternity through words, when

Spirit and body thrilled identified.
Linked in the grasp of an unspoken joy
Mind, members, life were merged in ecstasy

And that is the core of Savitri, the ancient legend redone to suit a modern need.

Sudhansumohan Banerjee.

Indian Unity : A Symposium, Ed. by R. V. Ramachandrasekhara Rao, Publication Division : Government of India, New Delhi (1969), pp. 152, Rs. 4.00.

There has been an endless debate as to the precise content of Indian unity from the beginning of the nationalist phase of contemporary history. According to one school, this unity is an artificial one, produced more by

the consolidated administration created for India by Britain after an effective conquest of the land, than by any natural process. Indian history is a story of disunity, dissension and conflict rather than of unity, harmony and co-operation. But according to another school, pronouncedly nationalist in accent, unity has been a basic theme of Indian history. The publication, under review, belongs to the second group, and it illustrates this theme by a selection of representative writings and speeches from eminent Indians and one British national. It is primarily designed as a useful reference guide to a major question of Indian history.

The Symposium contains thirty-one selections covering the modern period. It spotlights the development of the concept of Indian unity in the last hundred years from the Renaissance period. The papers have been grouped under different categories—political, economic, cultural and religious unity. Political unity has obviously dominated over the rest as it alone contains nearly two-thirds of the selections. Each paper is introduced with a brief but suitable editorial note.

Political aspect of the discussion generally emphasizes the national unity as a precondition of freedom and progress in India. Besides, it centers on the key question—communalism. Indeed, the Hindu-Muslim relations dominated the national politics for several decades. Muslim opinion was pretty sharply divided on this question of national unity. Some of the Muslim leaders like Badr-ud-din Tyabji, Mohammad Ali and Abul Kalam Azad were convinced of the basic unity of India, but others like Jinnath were clearly opposed to it. Partition of India was an open confession of the inability to bring about a national consensus on this vital issue.

Nineteen selections in this sphere emphasize the national unity as a historical inevitability. Raja Ram Mohan Roy was the first to assert that despite political disunity, India was a single unit. Specific geographical frontiers and the common loyalty of the people to the land produced this unity. Allan Octavian Hume's Presidential Address to the Indian National Congress (1888) identified the fusion into one national whole of different and discordant elements as the major task of the organization. He was convinced that the Congress was a national organization, which dealt with questions on which the entire nation was agreed. Both Pherozeshah Mehta and Dadabhai Naoroji harped on the same theme of unity in diversity in India. Dadabhai, in particular, emphasized the importance to cultivate the feeling of common nationality. He declared: "Whether I am a Hindu, a Mahammedan, a Parsi, a Christian, or of any other creed, I am above all an Indian. Our country is India; our nationality is Indian" (P. 27). This realization marks the inauguration of the age of nationalism in India. It has been developed with a greater fervour by Surendranath Banerjea. All others like Annie Besant, Subhas Chandra Bose and Mahatma Gandhi prescribed the priority of national interests over sectional or religious interest, and condemned the narrow outlook. They were convinced

that a deep sense of nationalism permeated every Indian. Nationalism had already become a universal cult. Indian nationalism had even elevated the world. Gandhiji was convinced that free India would not be a Hindu Raj but an Indian Raj for all who were born and bred here. He believed that religion should be treated as a personal matter which should have no context in politics. Nehru discovered that the idea of unity, the background of Indian life for thousand years, had already gripped the people. National movement had clearly demonstrated the political unity of India.

Economic unity presents some real problem as India has never been an economic unit. It is only in recent times that efforts are being made to develop a uniform economic pattern through all-India approach to economic issues. Nehru pioneered this approach, and expressed the conviction that economic unity would be strengthened through economic planning.

Cultural unity constitutes the core of the fundamental unity of India. Emphasis on a common Indian culture, produced by the fusion of different communities and groups, has been repeatedly made by Ranade, Bipin Chandra Pal, Sri Aurobindo and Poet Tagore. According to them, the unity of India was neither racial nor religious, nor political nor administrative but cultural. Tagore observed: "That we in India should attain unity is a much greater thing than any particular purpose which our union may serve for it is a function of our humanity itself" (P. 109). Annie Besant, Nehru and others identified the composite culture of India and interpreted Indian history as a continuous movement towards attainment of social and political unity.

Religious unity is now relatively at a discount, but it cannot be ignored as major religions have coexisted in India for over centuries. Mahatma Gandhi emphasized the underlying unity of all religions. He pleaded for equal regard for all faiths and creeds on the basis of the realization of the brotherhood of man.

Though this official release emphasizes only one aspect of Indian unity, it does not sufficiently explain the basis for regionalism, casteism, linguism and communal politics in India. It cannot be denied that all these developments have a socio-economic and historical basis, and they tend to constitute an exception to the Indian unity. Some analytical selections on this aspect may be included in the future edition of this Symposium in order to promote an intelligent appreciation of the real bases and postulates of Indian unity.

R. Chakravarti

Problems of the Contemporary World : Published by 'Social Sciences Today' Editorial Office, U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences; Arbat 33/12, Moscow; Price not mentioned.

These brochures are published in English, French and Spanish in Co-operation with the Novosti Press Agency.

No. 3 (5)/1970 : **The Great Victory**, pages 164 : Commemorates the 25th Anniversary of the Rout of Nazi Germany and the End of the Second World War. It contains 9 papers on the origin and history of the Second World War, resistance of the Free World to Nazi aggression and the part played by Soviet Science on the victory over Hitler.

No. 4(6)/1970 : **The Youth and Contemporary Society**, Pages 138 : Publishes 9 papers on the revolutionary role of the youth in the ideological struggle and the solidarity of the youth in the world of today. Articles on Karl Marx's and Lenin's inspiration to the youth, the alienation of the younger generation from the world of Capital and Monopoly, and the Problems of the youth and the trend of youth Movements in the 20th century have relevance everywhere irrespective of geography and social order.

No. 5(7)/1970 : **Cosmos and Society**, Pages 178. It contains 9 illuminating papers, including Y. Gagarin's Professional Activities of Cosmonauts' Y. Listvinov's 'Current Western Concepts of Space Exploration', L. Cherkassky's 'The Struggle for Peaceful Use of Outer Space', I. Shklovsky's 'Thoughts on Astronomy, its Links with Physics and Technology, and its Influence on Present-day Culture', and E. Kolman's 'Cybernetic Aspects of Cosmology in the Light of Philosophy'

No. 6(8)/1970 : **Lenin and Science**. It contains only two papers, namely, M. Keldysh's 'Lenin and Science' and A' Rumyantsev's 'Leninism and Social Problems of our Time', both of which throw light on the thoughts of the Communist world today on Science.

No. 4, 1970 : **Social Sciences of Today**, Pages 176. It contains 8 papers on widely varied topics such as Economic Theory of Socialism and Communism, Scientific management of Society, Economic Planning, Elite and Class in the Developing Countries, and 'Materialism and Empirio-Criticism, in relation to the present age.

Some of the volumes provide good bibliographies, though with an emphasis on Russian publications.

The brochures are printed in type-script that gives them a look, of Contemporaneity.

K. Lahari

Indians in Africa : A Socio-Economic Study by Haraprosad Chattopadhyaya, Department of History, University of Calcutta ; Bookland Private Limited, Calcutta, 1970, pp. 464, Price Rs. 30-00-.

The book under review is the first critical attempt to portray the Socio-economic life of Indians in South and East Africa in a single volume made by a scholar who has to his credit another work of outstanding merit—the Sepoy Mutiny, 1857 : A Social Study and analysis which won for him a doctorate degree from the University of Calcutta. The period and areas covered by the book are (i) 1860-1952 for South Africa in Natal, the Transvaal, the Cape in Colony and the Orange Free State & (ii) 1895-96.

1957 for East Africa in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania (Tanganyanika and Zanzibar). It has two parts. Part I consisting of nine chapters deals with South Africa and Part II consisting of six chapters deals with East Africa. Of the fifteen chapters chapters V & VI of Part I and chapters XII and XV of part II are of special interest to general readers and scholars working in the field. In these chapters the author's commendable industry and critical acumen are easily perceptible. A novel feature of the volume is that the learned author has tried in his Introduction to establish India's contact with Africa as early as the Age of the Puranas. He relies, among other available sources, on Lt. Francis Wilford's paper read at the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1792 identifying Cushadwipa with Ethiopia and the river 'Cali' or 'Nila' with the river Nile of Egypt.

Two maps—Africa South of the Sahara facing page 1 and East Africa as adapted from a map drawn by Lt. Francis Wilford facing page 7, incorporation of innumerable statistical charts with meticulous care and an exhaustive bibliography have added to the value of the book. Referring to the role of M. K. Gandhi in South Africa the writer rightly observes,—“Mazzini-like he created a faith in the minds of South Africa's Indian settlers that they were not destined to suffer he gave a new force to the crusade against the White Settlers' unjust treatment of Indians stamped the Indian movement with his own moral fervour” The author judiciously and sympathetically concludes that the national governments of East Africa, on their part, should lift all restrictions on Indians, grant them African citizenship and should thus treat them as a part of the African nation.

The printing and the get up of the book are good. Written in a lucid style and patriotic vein, the work is compulsively readable and needs wide publicity. The author deserves our congratulations for bringing out such a useful volume which is by all means, a distinct contribution to the literature on the subject.

B. K. Majumdar

Ecliptic Poetry : by Peter Darien, Masterwork Press, 12, Beechwood Road, Summit, N. J. 07901.

Here is a collection of some poems from Darien's *World* posing a challenge to the readers of modern poetry. Most of the poems are longish and each of these is divided into a few sections to reflect the varying shades of thought of the poet's psyche. The poet adds a prefatory note at the outset entitled 'Trappings of the Ecliptic' wherein he briefly elucidates the implications of certain poems in order to enable a reader to comprehend them to his benefit. Without going into the details of his analysis it can be safely asserted that he hardly succeeds in his mission to bring home to us the symbolic significance and the esoteric meaning of his poetry. But

what baffles one's sense of beauty is the list of questions set at the end of the note which is academic rather than aesthetic from a reviewer's point of view.

The lines in 'Songs of Season' are characterised by the simplicity of diction and the felicity of expression. The objects of Nature are delineated with admirable restraint so as to produce an artistic effect on the mind. A deep, dignified tone adds a classic grace to 'Inter Island'. The poet's meditation on eternity and creation of apposite images are finer points to note in this poem. Darien extends his imagination to catch.

"An overture sounding the mood of a drama—

So is a thread in the hand of Brahma ;"

The poems under "Wisdom of the Solomons" and "Village of Seven Gates" are marvellous blends of intellect and intuition in so far as they represent the diverse moods of the poet.

In addition to the deft manipulation of the form and content of his poetry Darien shows a remarkable power as a writer of prose in 'Theory and Principle' and 'Celebrations'. One may have snatches of Darien's Philosophy in these works set forth in an inimitable style. In the first work he expects us to imagine 'the small but majestic wheel of the seasons and around it the greater cycle of generations embracing love and war, desert and ocean, exile and return . . . to the ways of peace with its final realization.' Darien wants every American poet to believe in tradition, evidently in the other prose-work, and points out the assumption of Confucius that poetry can offer answer for modern man. He defines poetry as the art of celebration and refers to the poetry of Whitman which 'expressed his true nature, his beliefs, and the things that he had learned—as completely as he could.' In the evolution of poetry he perceives the influence of the Song of Songs, the Vedas and the Upanishads and touches upon the poetic contribution of Crane, Dickinson, Millay and others by the way. He gives a new orientation to modern poetry by this observation in the concluding note :—Poems can be like electronic circuits conducting individual student power through solid state, switching thought into colour and sound ; with capacitors holding knots of experience behind and ahead of him, projecting his energy into faithful achievement.

In spite of verbiage and digression Darien's prose deserves praise for its keen, analytical feature. His poems in the anthology are examples of decent craftsmanship. The book is neatly printed with an attractive cover-design and exquisite illustrations by Lucille Hobbie.

Ajit Kumar Mukherjee,

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